M. Lakshmanamoorthy.

Preface

The purpose of this book is to serve as a text for the undergraduate students of the Madras University offering History of India (1773 to the Present day) as one of the subjects for the Non-Semester as well as the I. C. C. Course. It will also serve the purpose of the students all over India for the study of History of India for the said period. It is written in simple style with suitable headings to be easily understood by degree class students. Fourteen maps have been inserted.

As the last proofs of the book pass from our hands, We cannot but express our sense of deep gratitude to the Professors and students of the Madurai-Kamaraj and the Madras Universities to have so generously cherished our other publications. We hope that this book will also be cherished by them. We thank Prof. T. S. RAMALINGAM for his lucid treatment of the subject. We also thank Rama Press for their neat execution.

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CHAPTER I

GOVERNORS-GENERAL

4. WARREN HASTINGS (1772-85)

Clive was succeeded by Vercist (1767-69) and Cartier (1770-72). Being men of average ability, they were not able to stem the tide of corruption and remove the evils of Double Government. Warren Hastings was appointed Governor in 1772. He served the Company under two capacities, the first from 1772 to 1774 as Governor of Fort William in Bengal and the second from 1774 to 1785 as Governor General of Bengal. Before he became Governor, he had served the East India Company as a writer, member of the factory Council at Cassimbazar, Resident of Murshidabad and member of the Calcutta Council and Madras Council.

Governorship of Bengal (1772-74)

End of the Double Government

During his Governorship, Warren Hastings introduced a number of reforms. He put an end to the Double Government of Robert Clive. As the Company resolved to stand forth as the *Diwan*, the offices of the two Deputy *Naibs* of Bengal and Bihar were abolished. The Nawab's allowance was reduced from 32 lakhs to 16 lakhs. As the Mughal Emperor came under the tutelage of the Marathas, Warren Hastings stopped the annual allowance of 26 lakhs of rupees to the Mughal Emperor. Kora and Allahabad were given back to the Nawab of Oudh for 50 lakhs of rupees.

Revenue Reforms

Warren Hastings set up a Board of Revenue and the treasury was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta. In 1772, he effected a quinquennial settlement of the land revenue. The lands were auctioned for a period of five years. The office of the Collector was created during his administration. He appointed a Collector in each district assisted by an Indian *Diwan* for the purpose of revenue collection and administration of civil law. The quinquennial settlement proved

a disastrous failure because under the new system lands went to the highest bidders. The bid amounts were very high in most of the cases due to the rash bids made by illegitimate speculators. Finding it very difficult to collect the fixed revenue, they squeezed out the blood of the ryots. The net effect of the new system was that the new landlords were in arrears, the ryots were groaning under the weight of taxation and the Government was deprived of a stable revenue. In 1777, when the five-year period ended, Warren Hastings reverted to the annual settlement. But the evils of farming were more marked under the annual settlement than under the five-year settlement. The experiment with English Collectors miserably failed. So they were recalled and the revenue administration of each district was left in charge of a Indian *Diwan*.

Judicial Reforms

A civil court presided over by a Collector and a criminal court by an Indian judge were set up. He also set up two appellate courts at Calcutta—the *Sadr Diwani Adalat* (Supreme Civil Court) and the *Sadr Nizamat Adalat* (Supreme Criminal Court). The former was presided over by the Governor-General and two Councillors and the latter by an Indian judge.

Commercial Reforms

Internal trade grew under the fostering care of Warren Hastings. He abolished many vexatious taxes. He reduced the number of Custom Houses. He levied a uniform duty of 2½% on all goods except salt, betel-nut and tobacco. Weavers received great encouragement. The production of salt and opium received great attention during his rule.

The Regulating Act (1773) (Refer Chapter III)

Impeachment of Warren Hastings

Warren Hastings resigned in 1785 and reached England in the same year. He was impeached by the House of Commons on 22 charges of which the Rohilla War, the case of Chait Singh and the affairs of the Begums of Oudh were the most important. The trial began in 1788 and lasted till 1795. Cases dealing with the Rohilla

War and the Maratha War were dropped. During the trial, his actions were severely criticised by Bruke, Fox and Sheridan. In the end Warren Hastings was acquitted on all counts. The protracted trial ruined him financially. He died at the ripe old age of 86 in 1818.

The Rohilla War (1774)

The Marathas made a remarkable recovery after the Third Battle of Panipat (1761). The Mughal Emperor soon became a protege of the Marathas and he gave them Kora and Allahabad. But Warren Hastings restored Kora and Allahabad to Shuja-ud-daulah for 50 lakhs of rupees. Rohilkhand was situated in the north-west of Oudh. The majority of the people who lived in Rohilkhand were Hindus. But the Government of the country was in the hands of a confederacy of Pathan and Rohilla chiefs. Hafiz Rahmat Khan was the head of the confederacy. The Marathas bore a grudge against Rohilkhand and Oudh because they joined with the Abdali against them during the Third Battle of Panipat (1761). After their recovery, the Marathas threatened the borders of Oudh and Rohilkhand. To meet the common danger, the Nawab of Oudh and Hafiz Rahmat Khan entered into a treaty in 1772. According to the treaty it was agreed that if Rohilkhand was attacked by the Marathas, the Nawab of Oudh should come to its help and if the Nawab succeeded in making the Marathas withdraw, Hafiz Rahmat Khan should give 40 lakhs of Rupees to the Nawab. The Marathas invaded Rohilkhand in 1773. When the Marathas saw the Nawab of Oudh, supported by a British contingent girding up the loins, they withdrew Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab of Oudh, demanded the money. But Hafiz Rahmat Khan refused to pay the amount on the ground that the Nawab only made a demonstration and the Marathas withdrew of their own accord. In order to teach a lesson to the Rohillas, the Nawab entered into a secret treaty with Warren Hastings by which the latter agreed to render military help to the former against the Rohillas in return for 40 lakhs of rupees and the expenses of the war. In 1774, the Nawab invaded Rohilkhand and wreaked vengeance on the Rohillas with the help of a British contingent. The Rohillas were defeated in the Battle of Miranpur Katra. Hafiz Rahmat Khan was killed. Nearly 20,000 Rohillas were expelled from the country and Rohilkhand was

added to Oudh. The charge against Hastings was that he lent military help to the Nawab against "a simple pastoral people, patterns of antique virtue". But the case against Warren Hastings was exaggerated by "the malice of personal enemies, the wild on slaught of party orators and writers and the misconceptions of one-sided critics". Though the action of Warren Hastings in the Rohilla affair could not be justified on moral grounds, it was inevitable from the of point view of the growing British Empire in India.

The Trial of Nanda Kumar (1775)

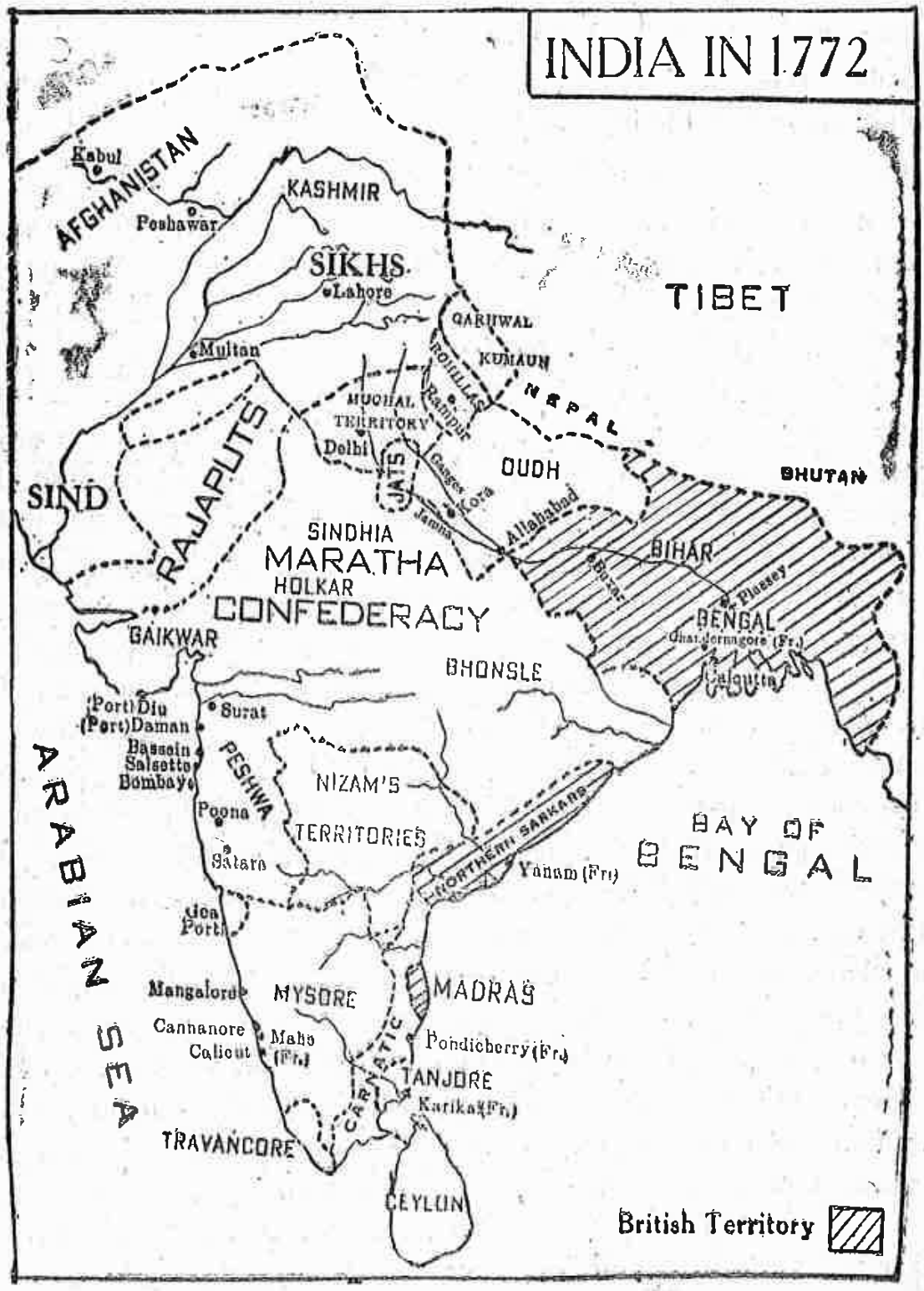
Maharaja Nanda Kumar was an influential Brahmin who had held high posts under Siraj-ud-daulah and Mir Jafar, the Nawabs of Bengal. He accused Warren Hastings before the Council for having received a bribe of more than 3½ lakhs of rupees from Munni Begum, the widow Mir Jafar, for making her the guardian of the young Nawab, Mubarak-ud-daulah, and head of the Nawabi. Warren Hastings did not want to face a trial by the Council in the presence of "so notoriously infamous" a man as Nanda Kumar. He dismissed the Council rather than "bear the indignity of presiding at his own trial". In the meantime, Warren Hastings brought a charge of conspiracy against Nanda Kumar and his associates for compelling a revenue-farmer to bear false witness against Warren Hastings. While Nanda Kumar was waiting trial, Mohan Prasad, an old enemy of Nanda Kumar, charged him with forgery in a case which happened five years ago. Nanda Kumar was arrested, convicted to death and hanged. He went to his doom, nominally for a charge of forgery but really for accusing the Governer-General. The punishment meted out to him was rather too harsh. Forgery was not a part of the Indian Criminal Code, and the English law, making forgery a capital crime was not operative in India till many years after Nanda Kumar's alleged forgery had been committed. Further, it was doubtful whether the Supreme Court had any jurisdiction over the Indians. As Sir Elijah Impey who pronounced the judgement and Warren Hastings happened to be old friends, it was naturally believed as a case of "judicial murder". From the intensity of the punishment itself it could be surmised that there was "miscarriage of justice". When Nanda

Kumar sought the help of the Councillors, they remained indifferent. Probably they might have thought that "Nanda Kumar dead would be a more potent weapon against the Governor-General than Nanda Kumar living". In short, there is something fishy about the whole affair and the murder of Nanda Kumar calls forth condemnation of the highest degree.

The case of Chait Singh, the Raja of Benaras (1781)

Benaras was originally a fief under the Nawab of Oudh. By the treaty of Faizabad (1775), the Nawab of Oudh transferred Benaras to the Company. Chait Singh, the Raja of Benaras, now became the vassal of the Company and he was allowed to remain secure in his position by regularly paying an annual tribute of 22½ lakhs of rupees. It was also agreed that the Company would not make any fresh demands. In 1778, Warren Hastings made a fresh demand of 5 lakhs of rupees to meet the war expenses. The amount was promptly paid by the Raja. A like demand was made in the next year. The Raja made a mild protest. So two battalions were marched into Benaras and by intimidating and threatening the Raja, the amount was collected along with an additional sum of Rs. 20,000 for the expense of collection. In 1780 the demand was again repeated. The Raja already reduced to sore straits pleaded with Hastings that the treaty obligations exempted him from any excessive payment other than the annual tribute of 22½ lakhs of rupees. The Raja sent a present of 2 lakhs of rupees to Warren Hastings and earnestly solicited him to exempt him from further payments. But Hastings insisted on the pound of flesh and collected the subsidy of 5 lakhs. He did not stop with that. He asked the Raja to supply 2,000 cavalry. On the protest of the Raja, it was reduced to 1,000 cavalry. The Raja with very great difficulty got together 500 horses and requested the Governor-General to accept 500 matchlock men as substitutes for the remaining. For this act of obstinate disobedience, the Governor-General decided to impose on him a fine of 50 lakhs of rupees. Hastings left Calcutta for Benaras. He refused an interview to the Raja. So he wrote out politely and submissively what he had to say. But Hastings pronounced it to be "not only unsatisfactory in substance but offensive

in style". He ordered him to be arrested. Though the Raja submitted, the sepoys were not able to brook such an indignity inflic-



ted upon their Raja. They rose suddenly and murdered the British soldiers including three officers. Warren Hastings fled to Chunar. The rising was however put down. Chait Singh took refuge in

Gwalior, Mahip Narayanan, a nephew of Chait Singh, was made the new Raja and he promised to pay a tribute of 40 lakhs of rupees. The policy followed by Warren Hastings in his dealings with Chait Singh was "unwarrantable and impolitic". According to Alfred Lyall: "Hastings must bear the blame of having provoked the insurrection at Benaras". In his proceedings against Chait Singh, Warren Hastings was "actuated by a certain degree of vindictiveness and private irritation against the Raja".

Case of the Begums of Oudh (1782)

Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab of Oudh, died in 1775 and he was succeeded by his son Asaf-ud-daulah. Due to the maladministration of the country and his wasteful extravagance, he was not able to remit the subsidy to the Company regularly and he fell into arrears. When pressed for payment, he pointed out to the Company that his mother and grandmother (the Begums of Oudh) had vast treasures and properties inherited from his father and they had been unjustly withheld from him. On the representation of the British Resident of Oudh, the Begum gave her son £ 3,00,000 in addition to £ 2,50,000 which had been already paid to him. The Calcutta Council and the Resident gave a guarantee to the Begums that no further demands would be made from her. The Nawab again fell into arrears. When pressed for payment, he solicited British help to seize the properties and treasures from the Begums. Warren Hastings promptly agreed. When the Nawab shrank from doing such an audacious act, Hastings urged and goaded him to go on with his task. With the help of British forces, the Nawab entered the palace of the Begums. He put them to much hardship, inconvenience and ill-treatment. The eunuchs and servants were beaten and flogged. Their treasures were seized and properties confiscated. The action of Warren Hastings against the Begums of Oudh was a high-handed one. In the words of Alfred Lyall: "The employment of personal severities under the supervision of British officers, in order to extract money from women and eunuchs is an ignoble kind of undertaking;...to cancel the guarantee and leave the Nawab to deal with the recalcitrant princesses was justifiable; to push him on

and actively assist in measures of coercion against women and eunuchs was conduct unworthy and indefensible".

The First Maratha War (1775-82) (Refer Chapter II)
The Second Mysore War (1780-84) (Refer Chapter II)
Pitt's India Act (1784) (Refer Chapter III)

Estimate

From the humble position of a writer of the Company, Warren Hastings rose to the position of the Governor-General of Bengal. This was no mean achievement. His administration which lasted from 1772 to 1785 was a trying period for him. He was harassed and humiliated by his own Councillors. Though an empty treasury greeted him, he found enough resources to prosecute the First Maratha War and the Second Mysore War. In spite of the heavy odds posed against him, he emerged victorious from the acid test. When the British Empire lost the American colonies during his time, he preserved her territories in India. So it justifies Robert's statement that he was "perhaps the greatest English man who ever ruled India". His administrative reforms were of a far-reaching nature. In the words of Sir William Hunter, Warren Hastings laid "the foundation of the system of civil administration" on which "the superstructure was raised by Cornwallis". It is true that his affairs with the Rohillas, Nanda Kumar, Chait Singh, and the Begums of Oudh were high-handed. From an ethical point of view, his actions had to be severely condemned. But from the political point of view, taking into consideration the century in question, they were only interesting political curiosities. He was an accomplished scholar and a patron of Oriental literature. The real worth of the man came to the limelight only in 1813 when he was called upon by Parliament to give his matured opinion about the revision of the Charter. When he left the House, all the members stood up with hats off and cheered him. The University of Oxford conferred on the re-founder of the British Empire in India the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. In the words of Ramsay Muir he was "the greatest English man who ever served in India".

2. CORNWALLIS (1786-93)

After the resignation of Warren Hastings, Sir John Macpherson, the senior most member of the Council became acting Governor-General. He was succeeded by Lord Cornwallis in 1786. He was also appointed Commander-in-Chief. The Act of 1786 invested him with the power to overrule the majority in times of emergency. Lord Cornwallis had served Britain as a commander during the American War of Independence. He was noted for his personal integrity, high character and strict discipline. As he hailed from an aristocratic family, he had a large circle of friends among the leading statesman of England. During his Governor-Generalship, he had a smooth sail unlike that of Warren Hastings.

Reform of the Civil Service

The Company's Government in India was corrupt beyond measure and abounded in abuses. There is a grain of truth in the statement that "the servants in India are not appointed by the Directors, but the Directors are chosen by them. The trade is carried on with their capitals". The servants were given poor salaries but were allowed to get money from questionable sources. To quote an example, the Resident of Benaras had an annual salary of £ 1,350. But his income from other sources amounted to £40,000 a year. This was the position of the civil service when Cornwallis assumed office. He took drastic steps to root out corruption. He purified the civil service and removed many abuses. He increased the salaries of the servants but prevented them from indulging in private trade and accepting presents and did away with the practice of accepting commissions. Appointments were made on the basis of merit. He paid no heed to the recommendations made by the Directors and even the Prince of Wales "Career open to talent" is good in principle if it is uniformally applied to one and all without any discrimination. But Cornwallis had no confidence in the ability of the Indians and so he removed them from high and responsible posts. By underestimating their talents, he did gross injustice to the Indians by following a systematic policy of dissociating them from responsible jobs. He brought about a separation of the executive

and the judiciary. The collectors were deprived of their judicial powers. All these reforms enhanced the position of the Civil Service and in course of time it developed into the Imperial Civil Service of the Indian Empire.

Reform of the Judiciary

Cornwallis thoroughly reorganised the civil and the criminal courts and brought notable changes in police organisation. He brought about a separation of the executive and the judiciary and entrusted the respective powers to independent organs. After the separation, the Collectors confined their attention to the collection of revenue and the courts looked after the administration of justice. Cornwallis set up a hierarchy of courts both on the civil side and the criminal side. 1. At the bottom were the small courts presided over by Indian Munsiffs. 2. Above them were District and City courts each presided over by an European judge assisted by Indians. 3. Above them were the four provincial courts of appeal at Calcutta, Dacca, Murshidabad and Patna, each under three European judges assisted by Indian advisers. 4. The ***Sadr Diwani Adalat*** (Supreme Civil Court) at Calcutta was at the apex of the judicial structure on the Civil side. It was the highest court of appeal for civil cases and it consisted of the Governor-General and members of the Council. A similar set of courts was set up on the criminal side. The ***Nizamat Adalat*** (Supreme Criminal Court) at Calcutta was the highest court of appeal on the criminal side. Hitherto, the ***Nizamat*** was presided over by an Indian judge. But from the time of Cornwallis, it was presided over by the Governor-General's Council assisted by Indian judges. In administering criminal cases, the Muhammedan code was followed. But many of its harsh features were abolished. Brutal punishments like multilation were abolished. In civil cases among Hindus, covering marriage, inheritance, ***etc.***, the English judge was assisted by a native pundit to interpret the Hindu laws. A similar provision was made for the interpretation of Muslim law when the contending parties happened to be Mussulmans. When the contending parties belonged to different castes, the English judge followed the dictates of equity and good faith The Cornwallis Code laid down

rules and regulations for the proper conduct of the judicial officials and for administering even-handed justice.

Cornwallis laid the foundation for a regular police organisation. For the prevention and detection of crime, each district was divided into a number of small areas called *thanas* and each was placed under the charge of a police officer called *Daroga*. The Magistrate was the chief police offiicer in each district.

PERMANENT REVENUE SETTLEMENT

In a predominantly agricultural country like India, a major portion of the revenue comes from land. The Company secured the *Diwani* or the right to collect the taxes of Bengal, Bihar and a part of Orissa in 1765. But it did not suddenly assume the responsibility of collecting the taxes. The collection of revenue was left in the hands of two native officers called Deputy *Nalbs*. In 1769, English supervisors were appointed and the Deputy *Naibs* were expected to carry out their work under the supervision of the Supervisors. But the new system proved to be a thorough failure because the English Supervisors had no experience and further the native tax collectors, called the zamindars, never co-operated with them. In the beginning, the zamindar was a mere collector of revenue. In course of time, the office became hereditary. He collected the revenue, remitted nine-tenth in the State treasury and retained the remaining one-tenth for himself. As the office became hereditary, a new zamindar inherited his zamindari after paying a fine. He was at perfect liberty to dispose off his zamindari after obtaining previous permission. He was entitled to compensation if he was deprived of his zamindari. It was his responsibility to maintain peace within his jurisdiction.

Warren Hastings set up a Board of Revenue and the treasury was removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta. In 1772, he effected a quinquennial settlement of the land revenue. The lands were auctioned for a period of five years. The office of the collector was created during his administration. He appointed a Collector in each district assisted by an Indian *Diwan* for the purpose of revenue collection and administration of Civil law. The quinquen-

nial settlement of Warren Hastings proved a disastrous failure. The net effect of the new system was that the new landlords were in arrears, the ryots were groaning under the weight of taxation and the government was deprived of a stable revenue. In 1777, when the five-year period ended, Warren Hastings reverted to annual settlement.

When Cornwallis came to India, he found "agriculture and trade decaying, ryots and zamindars sinking into poverty and money-lenders the only flourishing class in the community". As the ryotwari system was out of question, the only other alternative was the zamindari system. With regard to the status of the zamindars, Grant held the view that the Government was the real proprietor of all land and the zamindars were mere tax collecting agents. Shore was of the view that the zamindars were the proprietors of the land, and the state was entitled only to a customary rent from them. But as a settlement of the land had to be effected, Cornwallis and the Board of Directors accepted Shore's view. Cornwallis recommended that the system of annual leases should be given up. A 10 year settlement of the land was made with the Zamindars in 1790 and it was made permanent in 1793.

Criticism of the Settlement

According to Marshman the Permanent Revenue Settlement was "a bold, brave and wise measure". According to Holmes: "The Permanent Settlement was a sad blunder". But whatever may be the views held by historians, the Permanent Revenue Settlement had both merits and demerits.

Merits

The Permanent Revenue Settlement legalised the proprietary right of the zamindars. After the settlement, a zamindar inherited the zamindari without paying a fine. He got perfect liberty to dispose off his zamindari without getting the previous consent of the Company. He was also relieved from the duty of maintaining order within his jurisdiction. As he had to pay a fixed revenue, he effected permanent improvements on land. More lands were brought under the plough. The settlement created a hereditary class of zamin-

dars who remained loyal to the British Government. "The Permanent Settlement gave popularity and stability to the British Government". The Company secured a stable revenue and was rid of the botheration and huge expenses incurred in collecting revenue by appointing a band of tax collectors.

Demerits

The Settlement changed the status of the zamindars who were originally a set of tax collectors into owners of land. The cultivators who were the original owners of land were made the tenants of the zamindars. The zamindars found it very difficult to collect the taxes from the ryots. They fell into arrears. Many of them were deprived of their proprietary right due to default of payment. The whims and fancies of the zamindars made the lot of the ryots more miserable. As the revenue was fixed for ever, the Government was not able to increase the revenue in subsequent years. It considerably affected the State purse. The Permanent Revenue Settlement did not offer a panacea to the frequent visitation of famines. Had the Permanent Revenue Settlement been postponed for ten or twenty years, many of the loopholes in the system could have been avoided. "Pressed for ways and means and anxious for reforms in more departments than one, he (Cornwallis) committed himself to a policy which in regard to the three interested parties—the Zamindar, the Ryot and the Ruling power—assured the welfare of the first, somewhat postponed the claims of the second and sacrificed the increment of the third".

Third Mysore War (1790-92) (Refer Chapter II)

Charter Act of 1793 (Refer Chapter III)

Estimate

Cornwallis made his mark in history as the author of many reforms. His title to fame rests on reforms effected by him on the civil, revenue and judicial spheres. He gathered up the scattered fragments of Government which he found and reduced them to one comprehensive system. He gave substance and permanence to what had before been light and transient. He laid the foundation of the present Indian constitution". His policy of excluding Indians from high posts deserves special condemnation.

3. SIR JOHN SHORE (1793-98)

Cornwallis was succeeded by Sir John Shore. He scrupulously observed the policy of non-intervention in his affairs with native States. The chief event in his time was the defeat of Nizam Ali by the Maratha forces at Kharda in 1795. He earnestly entreated the British to support his cause. But the request was turned down by Sir John Shore. Strict adherence to the policy of non-intervention greatly undermined the prestige of the British in India. It allowed free-play to the Marathas and Tipu. Tipu entered into secret negotiations with Zaman Shah of Afghanistan. Zaman Shah even came upto Lahore with the view of attacking India. But he was forced to retire to Afghanistan owing to domestic troubles. Sir John Shore realised the gravity of the situation. He deviated from the policy of non-intervention in his dealings with Oudh. Asaf-ud-daulah, the Nawab of Oudh, died in 1797. Sir John Shore set aside the claims of his son and enthroned Saadat Ali, the brother of the late Nawab. He entered into a treaty with the new Nawab by which the Company took up the responsibility for the defence of Oudh in return for an annual subsidy of 76 lakhs of rupees. The Nawab surrendered the fort of Allahabad to the Company.

4. LORD WELLESLEY (1798-1805)

Sir John Shore was succeeded by Lord Wellesley in 1798. Lord Mornington, who later on became Marquess, was only 37 years old when he became Governor-General. As a member of the Board of Control, he had previous knowledge of Indian affairs. He was out-and-out an imperialist. He came to India at a time when the policy of non-intervention was fast losing its ground. The political condif tion in India was rather complicated. He took advantage of the troubled conditions in India and decided to convert the British Empire *in* India into the British Empire *of* India. He wanted to establish the paramountcy of the British Government in India. A balance of power could be preserved among the native States only when they were equals. But he never considered them as equals and decided to assert the power of the British as the supreme overlord of all India. For realising such an end, he evolved a new policy

known as the Subsidiary System. By annexing some Indian States and keeping certain others in a subordinate position, he raised the power and prestige of the British in India.

SUBSIDIARY SYSTEM

The Subsidiary System of Wellesley was no new innovation According to Sir Alfred Lyall, there were four distinct stages in the evolution of the system. In the first stage, the Company extended military support to some of the native princes by lending a British contingent (*e. g.* the support given by Warren Hastings to the Nawab of Oudh to fight against the Rohillas). In the second stage, they themselves conducted the military operations with the help of some native princes, (*e. g.* Carnatic Wars). In the third stage, the Company demanded subsidies from the rulers of the States with the of object maintaining troops for the defence of the states (*e. g.* the treaty concluded by Sir John Shore with the Nawab of Oudh). In the last stage, as the subsidies were not regularly paid, they were substituted by the surrender of some territories so that the revenue derived out of these could be used for the maintenance of the defence forces.

The main features of the subsidiary treaty were that the State entering into a subsidiary treaty with the Company should cede a part of its territory to the Company for the maintenance of the defence forces. Such a State should not have any Political contact with European powers other than the British. The State should dismiss from civil and military services all non-British Europeans. Such a State should not enter into treaties with other Indian States without obtaining the previous permission of the Company. The British Company undertook the responsibility to protect the State from internal and external threats.

Subsidiary Treaties with Smaller States

The subsidiary treaties concluded by Wellesley could be divided into two categories—the one with smaller States and the other with bigger States. In the first category of treaties, he directly took over the administration and in the second controlled the external affairs of the States but gave them autonomy in internal adminis-

tration. Tanjore, Surat, Carnatic and Farrukhabad fell under the first category.

Tanjore (1799)

A disputed succession was going on to the throne of Tanjore. Wellesley took advantage of the situation. He entered into a subsidiary treaty with the Raja of Tanjore (Raja Serfoji). He directly took over the administration of Tanjore and the Raja was given an annual pension of £ 40,000.

Surat (1800)

The Nawab of Surat died in 1800. Taking advantage of a change in succession, Wellesley pensioned off the Nawab and assumed direct charge of the administration of Surat.

Carnatic (1801)

Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of the Carnatic, died in 1795. He was succeeded by his son Umdat-ul-Umra. He was a spend-thrift. He ran into debts owing to his reckless borrowing. It led to an open scandal known as the "Nawab of Arcot's Debts". The administration had become so rotten that it was corrupt beyond measure. Further, he along with his father had given offence to Wellesley by entering into treasonable negotiations with Tipu Sultan. Though the charge was not well-founded, misrule of the Carnatic offered the immediate pretext for the annexation of the Carnatic. Umdat-ul-Umra died in 1801. His son, Ali Husain, refused to sign a subsidiary treaty with the British. So Wellesley set aside his claims to the throne and selected Azim-ud-daulah, a nephew of Umdat-ul-Umra, as the new Nawab. He entered into a subsidiary treaty with Wellesley. The Company took over the civil and military administration of the Carnatic in 1801. The Nawab was allowed to retain his title and got one-fifth of the revenues of the Carnatic as pension.

Farrukhabad (1802)

Farrukhabad was annexed in 1802. The Nawab, who was a minor, was pensioned off.

Subsidiary Treaties with Bigger States

Hyderabad (1798, 1800)

The earnest entreaties of the Nizam with the view of entering into an alliance with the British went unheeded during the administration of Sir John Shore. Circumstances forced him to enter into negotiations with the French and he got military assistance from them. To ward off the French forces under the employ of the Nizam, Wellesley forced the Nizam to enter into a subsidiary treaty with him. A subsidiary treaty was duly signed in 1798 by which the Nizam agreed to receive a subsidiary force of six thousand sepoys. He further agreed to dismiss the French officers and disband the French forces. He also agreed not to employ in future any Frenchmen or any other European other than the British without the previous permission of the Company. Thus the Nizam became an ally of the Company. By a subsequent subsidiary treaty signed in 1800, the Nizam surrendered the "ceded districts" of Bellary, Cudappah, Anantapur, Chittor and Chitelburg.

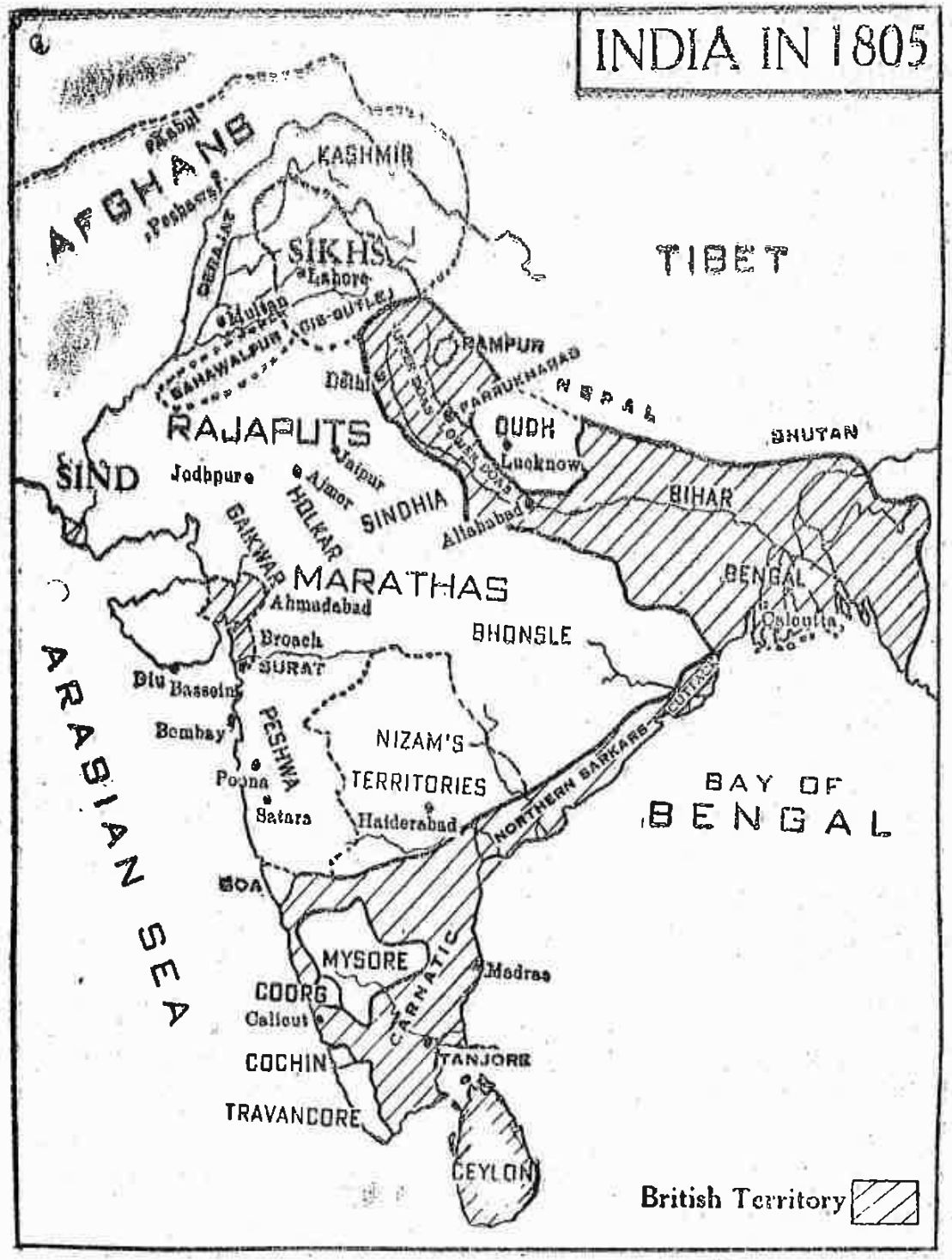
Mysore (1799)

The Fourth Mysore War sealed the doom of Tipu. The throne of Mysore which remained vacant from 1797 was again made warm by Wellesley by placing on the throne (1799) Krishna Raja III, a member of the old ruling family. The minor King entered into a subsidiary treaty with the British by which he ceded to the Company Canara, Wynaad and Coimbatore for the maintenance of the subsidiary forces.

Oudh (1801)

Oudh was misgoverned by Saadat Ali. Wellesley became anxious to take precautionary measures against the threatened invasion of Zaman Shah of Afghanistan. He forced the Nawab of Oudh to disband a part of his army and receive a larger subsidiary force. With the utmost reluctance, the Nawab entered into a subsidiary treaty with Wellesley. According to the terms of the treaty, he ceded to the Company Rohilkhand and the fertile tract of land between the Ganges and the Jamna (Lower Doab)—approximately one-half of the kingdom of Oudh. The size of the subsidiary force was en-

lared and the subsidy amount was increased. The conduct of the Governor-General in his dealings with Oudh was a high-handed one. In the words of Alfred Lyall, Wellesley "subordinated the feelings and interests of his ally to paramount considerations of



British policy in a manner that showed very little patience, forbearance or generosity".

Subsidiary Treaties with the Marathas

Treaty of Bassein with Baji Rao II (1802)

Baji Rao II, the Peshwa, concluded a Subsidiary treaty with Wellesley in 1802. According to the terms of the treaty, he agreed to station a subsidiary force of 6,000 sepoys within his territories. In *lieu* of the payment of the subsidy, the Peshwa ceded to the Company certain districts yielding an income of 26 lakhs of rupees. The foreign relations of the Peshwa were subjected to the control of the British. In short, the Peshwa was reduced to a mere figure-head. With British help, he was restored to Peshwaship in 1803.

Treaty of Deogaon with Bhonsle II (1803)

Raghuji Bhonsle of Nagpur was forced to sign a subsidiary treaty with Wellesley in 1803. According to the terms of the treaty, he surrendered the Mahanadi delta comprising Cuttack and including Balasore to the English. He agreed not to employ Europeans other than Englishmen in civil or military service. He further agreed not to conclude alliances with other Indian States without the Company's permission and submit all his disputes with the Peshwa or the Nizam to the British for arbitration and maintain a British resident at Nagpur to guide his foreign relations.

Treaty of Surji-Arjangaon with Sindhia (1803)

By a subsidiary treaty, Daulat Rao Sindhia surrendered the Upper Doab (the fertile tract of land between the Ganges and the Jamna which comprised Delhi and Agra) and his territories in Rajputana north of Jodhpur, Jaipur and Gohad. In the west, he surrendered Ahmadnagar, Broach and his territory west of the Ajanta hills. Other subsidiary conditions similar to those agreed by the Holkar were imposed on him. He gave up his claims over the Mughal Emperor, the Peshwa and the Nizam. In a subsequent treaty signed by him in 1804, he agreed to station a British force outside his frontier and not within his dominions as in the first case. For the loyalty of the Nizam, the British forced the Sindhia and Bhonsle to cede some territories to him.

Criticism of the Subsidiary system

The subsidiary System of Wellesley enabled the British to emerge as a first-class political and military power in India. The resources of the Company swelled. It was able to maintain its military might, at the expense of the subsidiary States. The much-dreaded French influence was warded off by the system. But the system had its own inherent defects. Wilson says: "The native prince being guaranteed in the possession of his territories but deprived of the rights of sovereignty, sinks in his own esteem and loses that stimulus for a good government which is supplied by rebellion and depotism. He becomes a lax and a careless ruler". The native princes freed from external danger indulged in all conceivable luxuries and neglected the internal administration. Most of these governments were corrupt and inefficient. Such a deplorable state of affairs ultimately paved the way for the sweeping annexations during the time of Dalhousie.

Fourth Mysore War (1799) (Refer Chapter II)

Second Maratha War (1803-1806) (Refer Chapter II)

Estimate

In the words of Roberts: "he (Wellesley) was one of the greatest of British rulers of India. Only Clive, Warren Hastings and Dalhousie can challenge comparison with him and in actual achievement he outdistanced them all". He really converted the British Empire *in* India into the British Empire *of* India. The prestige and power of the British in India soared to empyrean heights. "It was Clive who won and Hastings who preserved the English foothold in the great peninsula, it was Wellesley incontestably who found the British Empire in the East. He found the East India Company a trading body, he left it, almost in spite of itself, the mightiest power in the land".

Lord Cornwallis (1805)

The Court of Directors got fed up with the forward policy of Wellesley and hence recalled him. Lord Cornwallis was once again sent to India as Governor-General to restore the old order. He wanted to reverse the policy of Wellesley and revert to the policy of non-intervention. He wanted to conciliate the Sindhia by restoring

to him Gwalior, Gohad and all the territory west of the Jamna except Agra. He also contemplated the withdrawal of the protection of the Company from the Rajput States. Though the fortunes of the Holkar were at the lowest ebb, he decided to conclude peace with him. But he died before the realisation of his plans.

5. SIR GEORGE BARLOW (1805-1807)

When Cornwallis died in 1805, Sir George Barlow, the senior member of the Council was provisionally appointed Governor-General. He scrupulously observed the policy of non-intervention. By a new treaty with the Sindhia, he restored Gwalior and Gohad to him. Chambal was fixed as the boundary between the Sindhia's territories and the British possessions. He withdrew the protection of the Company from the Rajput States. Disregarding the sorrowful plight of Holkar, he offered peace terms favourable to him. An important event which occurred during his term of office was the outbreak of the sepoy mutiny at Vellore in 1806. The mutiny was, however, suppressed. The Second Anglo-Maratha War ended during his term of office.

6. LORD MINTO I (1807-13)

Sir George Barlow was succeeded by Lord Minto in 1807. Before becoming the Governor-General he had served as the President of the Board of Control. Though he wanted to strictly adhere to the policy of non-intervention, circumstances forced him to deviate from the policy in some cases. When Amir Khan, the rebellious Pathan Chief of the Holkar, invaded Berar, Minto sent an army to the help of the Raja of Berar (Bhonsle). Amir Khan was defeated and peace was restored.

Minto sent Metcalfe on a quasi-diplomatic mission to Ranjit Singh with the object of entering into an offensive and defensive alliance with him. But taking advantage of a threatened invasion of India by Napoleon, Ranjit Singh exploited the situation. But when the French fear vanished, Minto forced him to concede to his demands. Ranjit Singh signed a treaty of "perpetual friendship" with the British in 1809 at Amristar. According to

the terms of the treaty, Sutlej was recognised as the frontier between the two parties.

To counteract the designs of the French and thwart the threatened attack of India by Persia and Afghanistan, Minto sent diplomatic missions to both countries. John Malcolm who had been once sent to Persia in 1799 was again asked to go by Minto in 1808. At the same time, the Home Government sent Sir Harford Jones to accomplish the same task. He signed a treaty with the Shah of Persia and the Indian Government had to accept the treaty. Minto sent Elphinstone on a similar mission to Kabul. Shah Shuja, the ruler of Afghanistan, gave some oral assurances. As he himself was turned out of the country, nothing came out of the mission. When the relations between France and Russia got strained, Minto took up the offensive against the French in the East. He captured the French colonies of Bourban and Mauritius. Java was captured from the Dutch in 1811. But Bourban and Java were restored to the French and the Dutch respectively in 1815. The Charter Act of 1813 was passed during his rule. (For details Refer Chapter III).

7. LORD HASTINGS (1813-23)

Lord Moira who was later on created Marquess of Hastings assumed charge as Governor-General of Bengal in 1813. Like Cornwallis, Hastings had also played an active part in the American War of Independence prior to his appointment in India. He had severely criticised the expansionist policy of Wellesley. Though he was a staunch supporter of the policy of non-intervention, the troubled conditions in India prevented him from following such a policy. He had to follow the expansionist policy of Wellesley. The events that occured during his time became the basis of the British supremacy in India.

The Gurkha War (1814-16)

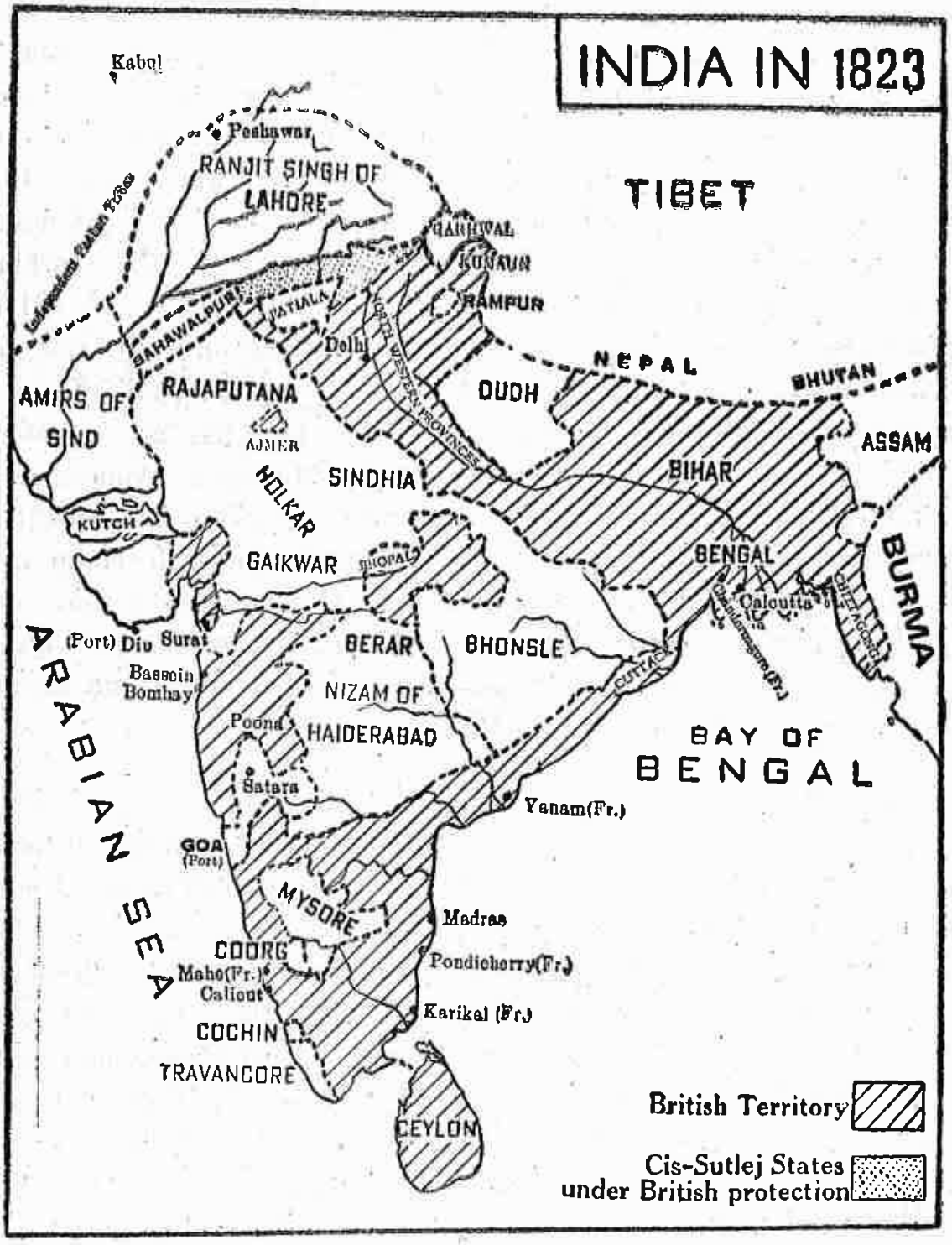
The Gurkhas established their hegemony in Nepal in 1768. They were a set of aggressive and warlike people. When they found their homeland too small for them, they decided to expand their territories. The non-intervention policy of some of the Governors-General offered them an excellent opportunity to make inroads into

the ill-defined frontiers of Bengal and Oudh. During the rule of Barlow, the Gurkhas occupied the British districts of Batwal and Seoraj. But Barlow did not take any action. Lord Hastings demanded the immediate evacuation of the encroached districts by the Gurkhas. They peacefully retired from these districts. The British set up police posts and the troops were withdrawn. But the Gurkhas again gave offence to the British by attacking and driving out the police from the outposts. So Hastings declared war against the Gurkhas In the initial stages of the war, the British suffered reverses. But in the end, they defeated Amar Singh, the Gurkha leader. The war came to an end by the treaty of Sagauli in 1816. According to the terms of the treaty, the Gurkhas agreed to receive a British Resident at Khatmandu, the capital of Nepal. In the territories which the Company got from the Gurkhas are situated some of the important hill stations—Simla, Mussoree, Almora and Nainital. They surrendered the districts of Garhwal and Kumaon and a large part of the Tarai region and gave up their claim on Sikkim. After the treaty of Sagauli, the Gurkhas remained very loyal to British India and served the Indian army in various capacities. By a separate treaty signed in 1817, a portion of the Tarai region was given to the ruler of Sikkim.

Suppression of the Pindaris

The Pindaris were a set of free-booters. They did not belong to any clan or race. It is difficult to trace the origin of the Pindaris. But they served under Baji Rao I as irregular horsemen. Later on they divided themselves into two parties and served under Sindhia and Holkar. After the Third battle of Panipat, they made Malwa their abode. Their chief leaders were Chitu, Wasil Muhammad and Karim Khan. Their rank was swelled by discontented people from various walks of life and from different castes. With fire and sword they carried on organised looting with unabated vigour. The Pindari pest spread far and wide. The horrors and terrors of the Pindaris caused untold misery on the people. They tortured the innocent peasants and outraged the modesty of women. The policy of non-intervention followed by some of the Governors-General opened to them new vistas to fresh pastures. In 1812 they

plundered Bundelkhand. In 1815 and 1816 they looted the Nizam's dominions and in 1816, they pillaged the Northern Sarkars. When the Pindaris did not spare even the British dominions, Hastings



decided to hunt out the Pindaris. With 1,20,000 men and 300 guns, he started operations from both the north and the south. He himself led the army of the North. The Pindaris were hunted from

pillar to post and by the end of 1817 they were driven out of Malwa and in the early months of the next year, the Pindari pest was completely eradicated. Karim Khan surrendered and he was granted a small estate in Uttar Pradesh. Wasil Muhammad died in captivity, Chitu was killed by a tiger.

The Third Anglo-Maratha War (1817-19) (Refer Chapter II)

Establishment of British supremacy in Rajputana (1818)

During the hey-day of the Marathas, almost all the Rajput States lay prostrate before them. They exacted tributes from them and often looted their dominions. The greatest insecurity prevailed in these States. Sir George Barlow and Minto in their zest to strictly adhere to the policy of non-intervention withdrew the protection of the Company from the Rajput States and thus allowed a free-hand to Sindhia and Holkar. Hastings who was bent upon establishing the supremacy of the British over a wider field, altered the course of events. He concluded a treaty with the Sindhia in 1817 and another with the Holkar in 1818. Both Sindhia and Holkar gave up all their claims over the Rajput States. Offering British protection in return for recognising the overlordship of the Company, Hastings concluded treaties with the Rajput States of Kotah, Jodhpur, Udaipur, Bundi, Jaipur and with a number of other minor States. All these States recognised the overlordship of the British East India Company and promised to pay tribute.

Reconstruction in Central India

After the extirpation of the Pindaris from Central India, a reconstruction of that area became quite inevitable. The Nawab of Bhopal accepted British protection and concluded a subordinate alliance with the Company. For the valuable services rendered by the Nawab in suppressing the Pindaris, he was amply rewarded by an increase to his territory by the British. Thus the small State of Bhopal acquired political importance in Malwa. The smaller States in Malwa recognised the overlordship of the Company. After the defeat of the Peshwa, the smaller States in Bundelkhand came under the domination of the British.

Suppression of the Pathans

If the Pindaris were locusts, the Pathans were moths. While the Pindaris struck havoc and terror among the people and carried away whatever they could find, the Pathans intimidated and threatened governments and chieftains and exacted contributions from them. Muhammad Shah Khan and Amir Khan were their leaders. When the former died in 1814, the latter became the undisputed master of the Pathans When Jaswant Rao Holkar became incapacitated, Amir Khan became the real leader of the Holkar family. Hastings succeeded in placating Amir Khan. He was made the Nawab of Tonk, With his withdrawal, the Pathan menace also ended.

Revenue Reforms

Lord Hastings distinguished himself not only in the feats of war but also in the arts of peace. He introduced some civil and administrative reforms. In carrying out his reforms, he was ably assisted by subordinates like Sir John Malcolm, Sir Thomas Munro, Elphinstone and Sir Charles Metcalf. Hastings was a strong votary of the ryotwari system and bitterly opposed the zamindari system. After the final defeat of the Marathas in the Third Maratha War, the settlement of the land revenue of the Bombay Presidency was carried out by Elphinstone. As direct contact with all the peasants was a little difficult at that time due to the absence of proper surveys, Elphinstone made the representatives of each village community responsible for the whole of the Government's due. In the meanwhile, surveys were undertaken by the Government to ascertain the nature and value of the lands. In the Madras Presidency' Sir Thomas Munro who became Governor in 1820, introduced the ryotwari system by which the peasants directly remitted the land revenue without the help of middlemen like zamindars or the representatives of the village community, as in the case of the Bombay Presidency.

Judicial Reforms

The police system of Bengal was improved and perfected. The Magistrates were given more powers. A more simplified procedure

was adopted in civil suits. Hastings did not nurture so much distrust for the Indian talent. Slowly but steadily, the Indians came to occupy high posts. He improved the status of the Indian Judges by enhancing their salaries and by increasing their number. The rigid separation of powers effected during the time of Cornwallis between the executive and thejudiciary led to much administrative delay and abuse. But Hastings united the two powers in the same person. Thus the Collectors once again enjoyed fiscal as well as police powers. The revenue and judicial reforms of Hastings marked a direct reaction against those of Cornwallis.

Educational and other reforms

Much against the wishes of the Court of Directors, Lord Hastings wanted to keep the torch of learning burning in India. He gave vent to his feelings in the following words: "It would be treason against British sentiment to imagine that it ever could be the principle of this government to perpetuate ignorance in order to secure paltry and dishonest advantages over the blindness of the multitude". He munificently donated to vernacular schools started by missionaries and others. He became the patron of an English College set up in Calcutta for the spread of the English language and Western Science. He allowed freedom of action to the Press and removed the censorship imposed on it by Wellesley. The first vernacular newspaper (***Samachar Darpan***) was started during his term of office. Hastings constructed a number of roads, bridges and canals. Commerce and agriculture developed.

Estimate

Hastings brought the Gurkhas to sense, dismembered the Maratha Confederacy, hunted out the Pindaris, established British supremacy over Rajputana, pacified Central India and introduced administrative and other reforms of a far-reaching significance. In the words of Mill: "The administration of the Marquess of Hastings may be regarded as the completion of the great scheme of which Clive had laid the foundations and Warren Hastings and the Marquess of Wellesley had reared the superstructure. The crowing

pinnacle was the work of Lord Hastings and by him was the supremacy of the British Empire in India proper finally established''. In the words of Roberts: "He (Hastings) was an able administrator, a hard and conscientious worker, a good judge of men, and his name and fame deservedly rank only just below the greatest in the roll of Governors-General''.

8. LORD AMHERST (1823-28)

After the departure of Lord Hastings, John Adam, the senior member of the Council, temporarily held the office of Governor-General for a period of six months till the arrival of Amherst. The three important events during the term of office of Amherst were the First Burmese War, a mutiny at Barrackpore and the capture of Bharatpur.

The First Burmese War (1824-26)

A resourceful and intelligent Burmese chieftain named Alompra or Alaungpaya captured the province of Pegu and laid the foundation of a new line of Kings by about the middle of the 18th century. During the rule of his successors, the whole mainland of Burma came under their sway. They began to show their might by indulging in border raids. The Burmese captured Shahpuri Island near Chittagong in 1823 which belonged to the British. Mahabandula, the Burmese General, marched his forces into the Arakkan with the object of overthrowing the British from Bengal and bring the Governor-General in chains to the capital of Burma. So Amherst declared war on the Burmese in 1824. Though the Burmese met with initial success, the tables were turned afterwards. The British captured Rangoon and Tenasserim. Mahabandula was defeated and killed at Donabew. The war came to an end by the treaty of Yandaboo signed in 1826. The British got Assam, Arakkan and Tenasserim and received a war indemnity of one crore of rupees The Burmese renounced their claims to the petty States of Manipur, Jaintia and Cachar, and they passed under British protection. They also agreed to receive a British Resident at Ava, the Capital of Burma.

Barrackpore mutiny (1824)

A Bengal native infantry mutinied at Barrackpore, expressing their unwillingness to cross the sea and fight with the Burmese soldiers. But the mutiny was put down with an iron hand.

Capture of Bharatpur (1826)

Balwant Singh, a minor, ascended the throne of Bharatpur with due recognition from the Governor-General. But the throne was usurped by his cousin, Durjan Sal. A military expedition to Bharatpur became a necessity. The impregnable fort of Bharatpur was stormed. Durjan Sal was taken prisoner by the British and the child-king was once again enthroned. Amherst resigned in 1828.

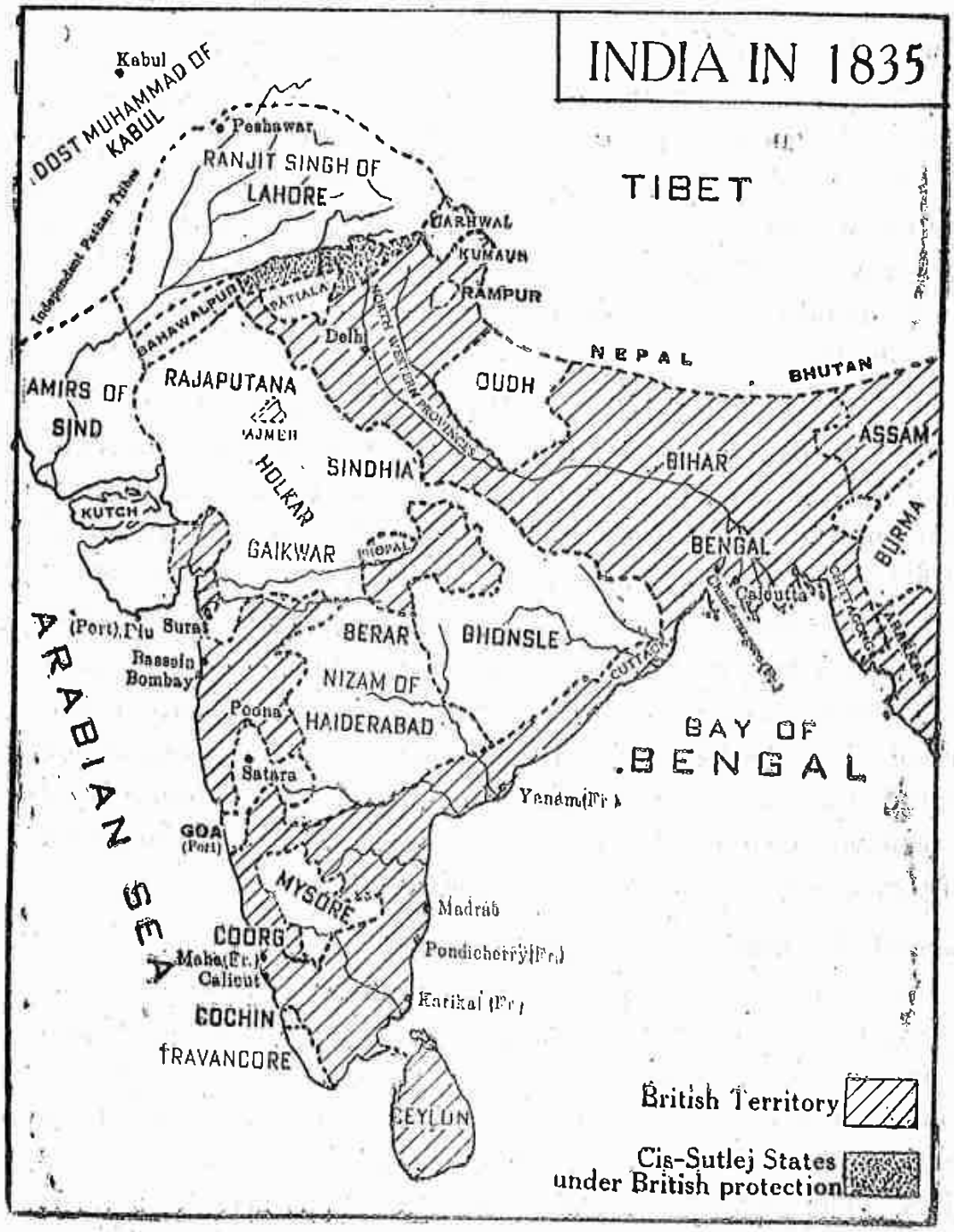
9. LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK (1828-35)

Lord William Bentinck had served the Company as Governor of Madras from 1803 to 1807. The failure of the British to cope with the mutiny of the sepoys at Vellore in 1806 led to the recall of Bentinck in the next year. The Court of Directors made ample amends for their unjust act towards Bentinck by honouring him with the high post of Governor-General of Bengal in 1828. He became the first Governor-General of India according to the provisions of the Charter Act of 1833. He was the first enlightened Governor-General to act on the principle that the welfare of the Government lies in the welfare of the governed. He made his mark in history as the author of some beneficial reforms,

Financial Reforms

The costly wars of Hastings and Amherst impoverished the treasury. To replenish the treasury, economy, retrenchment and increase in resources became all the more important. As the appointment of Indians was more economical, he entertained them in various jobs. He effected retrenchment in civil and military services. The ***batta*** or extra or additional pay given to soldiers was reduced to one-half. The military personnel who were so far entitled to full ***batta*** raised a storm of protest. But he bore all the protests and personal attacks on him with great fortitude. He enquired into the condition of land tenure in Bengal and deprived

those who had encroached into lands by corrupt practices. He effected a land revenue settlement of the North-West Provinces for a period of 30 years. The revenues of the State increased as a result



of the settlement. He introduced a system of licenses for conveying opium from Malwa to Bombay. The financial reforms of Bentinck had the effect of turning the deficit State into a surplus one.

Judicial Reforms

To promote justice and effect economy, Bentinck abolished the four Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuit established by Cornawllis on the ground that they served as resting places for those who were unable to shoulder onerous responsibilities. He entertained more Indians in judicial offices. He increased their pay and saddled them with more power and responsibility. Persian, which was till then the court language, was replaced by Indian languages.

Social Reforms

In was in the sphere of social reforms that Bentinck earned name and fame. The practice of *Sati* or self-immolation of Hindu widows on the funeral-pyre of their husbands was an inhuman custom prevalent among the Hindus from time immemorial. The previous Governors-General like Wellesley, Minto, Hastings and Amherst did not do anything concrete in the matter It was Bentinck who abolished *Sati* in 1829 in the teeth of the opposition of the people. Enlightened Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy supported the measure Another piece of social reform of Bentinck was the suppression of Thugs. They were a gang of hereditary robbers who stangled peaceful and innocent travellers. They perpetrated all these atrocities under the guise of propitiating Goddess Kali. Bentinck succeeded to a great extent in suppressing female infanticide which existed in Rajputana, the Panjab, Malwa, Cutch and Kathiawar. He also checked human sacrifices among some tribes in Madras.

Educational Reforms

The Charter Act of 1813 made a provision for spending one lakh of rupees on the study of Sanskrit and Arabic. In 1833, it was decided that the sum in question should be spent for the spread of English language and Western Science. A storm of protest was raised against this decision by the Orientalists led by H. H. Wilson. But the issue was ultimately settled by a minute of Macaulay. He was then a member of the Governor-General's Council. He severely criticised the stand taken by the Orientalists and explained in

chapter and verse the advantages of the English language and Western science. But Macaulay saw only one side of the question. He undermined the importance of Oriental learning and made a fantastic statement that, "a single shelf of good European Library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia". In 1835, the Governor-General made an announcement that the amount should be diverted to the spread of English education only. English became the official language and medium of instruction in colleges. In a way, it proved to be a blessing in disguise. English supplied, "the language of unity and the structure of unity". In the words of Roberts: "We attempted to raise a race administrators on the literature of revolt".

Charter Act of 1833 (Refer Chapter III)

Others Reforms

Bentinck followed a liberal and enlightened policy towards the Press. He built the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Delhi and work on another from Bombay to Agra was started.

Relations with the Indian States

Though William Bentinck wanted to adhere steadfastly to the principle of non-intervention, he deviated from the policy in some cases. As Mysore was misruled, the administration of the State was taken over by the Company in 1831. In 1832, he annexed Cachar and Jaintia. The Raja of Coorg was notorious for his cruelty and oppression. In 1834, Coorg was incorporated with the British dominions, "in consideration of the unanimous will of the people".

Estimate

Bentinck was undoubtedly one of the eminent rulers of India He was a statesman of considerable merit and was an enlightened administrator. Though some of his reforms like the abolition of *Sati* and the introduction of English language met with an immediate rebuff from the people, he sacrificed the favour of the contemporaries for the blessings of posterity. In the words of Macaulay, Lord William Bentinck ruled India, "with brudence, integrity and benevolence,..never forgot that the end of the government is the

welfare of the governed...abolished cruel rites...effaced humiliating distinctions...(and) allowed liberty to the expansion of public opinion". "He infused into Oriental despotism the spirit of British freedom".

10. LORD AUCKLAND (1836-42)

Lord William Bentinck was succeeded by Sir Charles Metcalf (1835-36). He abolished the restrictions imposed on the Press. So he was recalled. Metcalf was succeeded by Lord Auckland during whose term of office the First Anglo-Afghan War broke out.

THE FIRST ANGLO-AFGHAN WAR (1838-42)

A brief account of the rulers of Afghanistan

Ahmad Shah Abdali or Durrani (1747-73) who belonged to the Sadozai clan, started a new line of Kings in Afghanistan. The Abdali was succeeded by his son Timur Shah (1773-93). He was succeeded by his son Zaman Shah (1793-1800). He was deposed and blinded by his brother Mahmud (1800-1803). Mahmud in his turn was defeated and deposed by his younger brother Shah Shuja (1803-1809). He was deposed by his deposed brother Mahmud (1809-18). with the help of the Barakzai brothers (Fath Khan and Dost Muhammad). Shah Shuja fled to Lahore. Mahmud was deposed by the Barakzai chiefs in 1818. But his son Kamran ruled over Herat. Kamran assassinated Fath Khan, one of the Barakzai brothers. Soon the Barakzai borthers, twenty in number, rose in rebellion and divided the country among themselves. In 1826, Dost Muhammad captured Kabul and he was recognised as the supreme chief of Afghanistan by the other rival chiefs. The nominal ruler Ayub, a member of the Durrani family, who had already been made a prisoner in 1823, fled to Lahore.

Circumstances leading to the War

1. Rossophodia

Russia which had already expanded her territories in Central Asia in the East concluded the treaty of Gulistan with Persia in 1813. To outwit and counteract the political designs of Russia, Britain in the next year concluded the treaty of Tehran with

Persia by which "all European armies were to be prevented from entering Persia, if hostile to Great Britain",

2. Siege of Herat

Lord Auckland was sent to India with definite instructions "either to prevent the extension of Persian dominion in that quarter or to raise a timely barrier against the impending encroachments of Russian influence". In 1837 Mahmud, the Shah of Persia, encouraged by the ambassador of Russia, invaded Herat which belonged to Afghanistan. Herat was heroically defended by the Afghans and so the siege was raised by the Persians. Under instructions from Home, Auckland was forced to take drastic steps to counteract the designs of Russia in Afghanistan.

3. Mission of Alexander Burnes

Auckland sent Alexander Burnes to Kabul under the guise of a commercial mission but really to conclude agreements with the Barakzai rulers of Kabul and Kandahar to ward off Russian intrigues in Afghanistan. Dost Muhammad was willing to enter into an alliance with the British. But he stipulated that the British should put pressure on Ranjit Singh to hand over Peshawar to him. The mission of Burnes was a complete failure because the British were not prepared to let down Ranjit Singh. So Dost Muhammad opened negotiations with Russia.

4. Deposition of Dost Muhammad, Restoration of Shuja

As Auckland found in Ranjit Singh a better ally for the realisation of his policy, he turned down the request of Dost Muhammad. A Tripartite treaty was concluded among the English, Shah Shuja and Ranjit Singh in 1838. The treaty confirmed the right of Ranjit Singh over the territories he then held including Peshawar. If aimed at deposing Dost Muhammad and restoring the deposed Shah Shuja to the throne of Afghanistan on condition that he should not enter into any relation with any foreign State without the previous permission of the British. The real purport of the treaty was to erect a strong barrier to prevent any foreign intrusion through Afghanistan and the Punjab and make the north-west frontier of the British safe and secure. In October 1838, the Government of India, issued a manifesto from Simla justifying the

inevitable Afghan War. Taking into consideration the development of events, there was no necessity for a war with Afghanistan. It was an unprovoked war thrust on the people of Afghanistan. The Simla Manifesto giving in detail the negotiations with Dost Muhammad was a bundle of lies. The siege of Herat by Persia was the main cause indicated in the manifesto. But the siege was raised three weeks before the manifesto was issued. Dost Muhammad welcomed an alliance with the British. It was only when the British threw cold water on his scheme that he turned towards Persia and Russia. But he did not enter into any alliance with them. To the end, he observed perfect neutrality. Even if the war could be justified on legal or moral grounds, it was imprudent to prosecute such a war in an inhospitable region. Further, Auckland was not aware of the fact that Shah Shuja was a broken reed to lean upon.

Course of the War

The British army intended for the conquest called "the army of the Indus" consisted of the Bengal Division and Bombay Division. It was expected that Ranjit Singh should sent his Sikh army under Timur, the son of Shah Shuja, straight to Kabul *via*, Peshawar and Khyber. The Bengal army commanded by Sir Willoughby Cotton and accompanied by Shah Shuja reached Sind in 1839. The Bengal division as well as the Bombay division of the army was forced to take a circuitous route because Ranjit Singh objected to the march of British forces through his territory. The Bengal army entered Sind, marched through the Bolan Pass and reached Quetta. It was here that the Bombay division of the army joined with the other division. The supreme command of the army was taken over by Sir John Keane. Macnaghten, advised by Burnes, acted as political adviser. Kandahar, fell in 1839 without any fight. Ghazni was stormed. The British forces captured Kabul. Shah Shuja was triumphantly enthroned in 1839. In the words of Kaye, the entry of Shah Shuja was "more like a funeral procession than the entry of a king into the capital of his restored dominions". Treachery and bribery proved thicker than loyalty. Dost Muhammad became a prisoner in the hands of the British and was sent to Calcutta. The army of the Indus was dissolved in 1840.

Retreat of the British army

It soon became crystal clear that Shah Shuja could breathe freely only with the help of British might as he did not command the confidence of the people. But as the continued stay of the army greatly affected the State Exchequer, the Court of Directors suggested "the entire abandonment of the country and a frank confession of failure". But Auckland decided in favour of the continueed occupation of Afghanistan by British forces, numbering ten thousand. In the meanwhile, popular resentment found expression in a number of revolts. It gained momentum and soon became a national upsurge. It reached its climax when Burnes and some other officers were murdered by an angry mob. The surging Afghans rallied under the banner of Akbar Khan, the son of Dost Muhammad. Though Macnaghten promised to withdraw the British forces, he was treacherously murdered by Akbar Khan. Reduced to abject humiliation and degradation, the British army started its return march in 1842 after surrendering the guns, muskets and ordinance stores. But the retreat proved fatal. The Afghan promise for the safe conduct of the retreating army was honoured more in its breach rather than in its observance. They fell a victim to Afghan bullets. The fury of nature in the form of a severe winter also conspired against them. Only one man — Dr. Brydon — reached Jalalabad to narrate the awful story of the fatal retreat. To the credit of the British forces it should be said that Jalalabad and Kandahar were heroically defended by them. As a mark of displeasure, Auckland was recalled by the court of Directors.

11. LORD ELLENBOROUGH (1842-44)

End of the First Anglo-Afghan War

Lord Auckland was succeeded by Lord Ellenborough. He brought to an end the First Anglo-Afghan War. He ordered for the immediate withdrawal of the British forces from Afghanistan and gave *carte blanche* authority to the commanders to do as they saw fit during the withdrawal. Shah Shuja, in the meantime, was murdered by an Afghan chief. Nott with his army left Kandahar in 1842, *via* Kabul. On the way, he pocketed Ghazni. From there

he took with him "the Gates of the temple of Somnath" wrongly construed by him as the Gater taken away by Mahmud of Ghazni some eight hundred years ago. Nott joined with the forces of Pollock at Kabul. To wreak vengeance for the atrocities perpetrated by the Afghans, they razed Kabul bazaar to the ground. After vindicating the strength of British might, the army reached India in 1842. Ellenborough issued a proclamation in 1842 in which he declared that the Government of India "would willingly recognise any Government approved by the Afghans themselves, which should appear desirous and capable of maintaining friendly relations with neighbouring states". Dost Muhammad and other Afghan prisoners were released. He occupied the throne of Kabul in 1843. In the words of Marshman, the expedition was "an unparalleled instance of human rashness and folly...the greatest disgrace our arms had ever encountered in Asia".

The Annexation of Sind (1843)

Sind was originally a part of the kingdom of Ahmad Shah Abdali. It became independent after his death. Three branches of a tribe, called Talpura, ruled over Sind with headquarters at Haiderabad, Mirpur and Khairpur. In 1809, the Amirs of Sind concluded a treaty with the British promising not to entertain the French in Sind. This treaty was renewed in 1820. In 1832, William Bentinck concluded a treaty with the Amirs of Haiderabad and Khairpur. The treaty threw open the Indus to the British for commercial purposes. It was stipulated that the river should not be used for the transport of military stores and armed vessels. In 1838, Auckland concluded an alliance with the Amirs by which they unwillingly agreed to receive a British Resident at Haiderabad. In 1839, Auckland compelled them to enter into a subsidiary treaty with the Company. The British violated the terms of the treaty of 1832 by crossing the Indus with forces on the eve of the First Anglo-Afghan War. Though the Amirs remained loyal and faithful to the British during the First Anglo-Afghan War, they were accused of disloyalty to them. Lord Ellenborough sent Sir Charles Napier to take drastic action against the Amirs. He prepetrated atrocities in Sind. He compelled them to cede territories in *lieu* of the payment

of the tribute of 3 lakhs of rupees. In 1843, he reduced the fortress of Imamgarh. The people lost their patience and attacked the Residency. The attack of the Residency provided an excuse for the British to declare war against Sind. Napier routed a Baluchi army at Miani in 1843. Many of the Chiefs submitted. But Sher Muhammad, the Amir of Mirpur, held aloft the standard of independence. But he was decisively defeated in the battle of Daba in the same year. The Amirs were exiled and Sind was annexed to the British dominions in 1843.

War with Gwalior

Jankoji Rao Sindhia died in 1843. He was succeeded by his adopted son Jayaji Rao, a lad of nine years. His minority led to a crop of troubles. The army of Sindhia became insubordinate. The feasibility of a combined Maratha and Sikh aggression on the British made Ellenborough intervene in the affairs. He sent an army under Sir Hugh Gough and General Grey. The forces of Sindhia were defeated in two battles. He was forced to conclude a subsidiary treaty. Ellenborough was recalled in 1844.

12. LORD HARDINGE I (1844-48)

Hardinge who succeeded Ellenborough introduced some beneficial reforms. He gave thoughtful attention to the furtherance of the great scheme of irrigation known as the Ganges Canal. The scheme was, however, inaugurated only in 1856. He effectively prohibited the practice of *Sati* and female infanticide in the native States. Hitherto, the restriction was imposed only on British territory. He took severe measures to put an end to the practice of human sacrifice among the Khonds of Orissa. He evinced keen interest in the preservation of monuments. He got parts of the *Taj Mahal* repaired. On grounds of economy, he reduced the Company's forces. A Minute of Hardinge assured employment in Government Services to students passing out of the Government and other private institutions.

The First Anglo-Sikh War (1845-46) (Refer Chapter II)

13. LORD DALHOUSIE (1848-56)

Lord Dalhousie entered parliament in 1837. In 1843, he was appointed Vice-President of the Board of Trade and in 1845 he

became the President of the Board. He was only 35 years old when he became the Governor-General of India. The administration of Dalhousie witnessed many sensational events and it was an epoch-making period in the history of India. His sweeping annexations along with other causes led to the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 which in turn offered the immediate pretext for the transference of power from the Company to the Crown.

The Second Anglo-Sikh War (1848-49) (Refer Chapter II)

The Second Burmese War (1852)

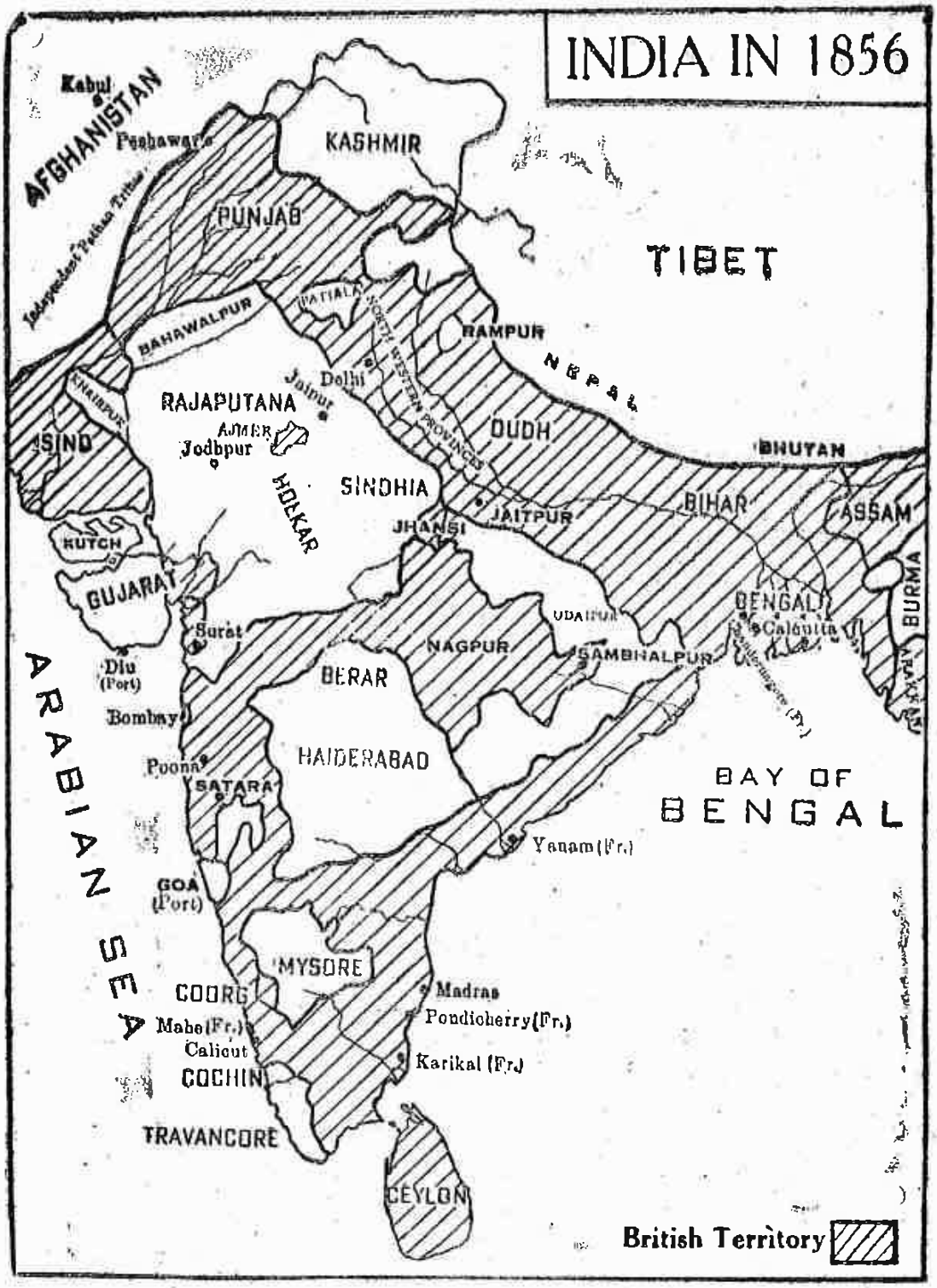
Tharrawaddy (1837-1845), the King of Burma, refused to honour the Yandaboo treaty obligotions because the law of the land did not bind a new King the treaty contracted by his predecessors. The British Residency in Burma was closed in 1840. The British merchants were ill-treated and put to much hardship and financial losses by the Burmese Governor of Rangoon. The Governor-General sent Lambert a naval officer to Pagan (1845-52), the successor of Tharrawaddy, for redressal of grievances. Lambert captured a royal vessel. In retaliation, the Governor of Rangoon opened fire at a British ship. This led to the Second Burmese War. In the light of the bitter experiences of the First Burmese War, elaborate and perfect arrangements were made for the prosecution of the War. General Godwin overran the important cities in Lower Burma. Lower Burma was incorporated wsth the British dominions in 1852.

The Charter Act of 1853 (Refer Chapter III)

DOCTRINE OF LAPSE

In his quest for new territories, Dalhousie applied the 'Lapse Doctrine' to a wider field. He was not the author of the 'Doctrine of Lapse'. In 1834, the Court of Directors laid down a general principle for the guidance of the Indian Government. The directive stated that "whenever it is optional with you to give or to withhold your consent to adoptions, the indulgence should be the exception, not the rule, and should never, be granted, but as a special mark of favour and approbation". It was by a rare coincidence that a number of cases arose during the time of Dalhousie and hence

the authorship of the 'Lapse Dactrine' is generally attributed to him. According to the doctrine, a State would lapse to the supreme overlord—the Company—if the King of the State died with



out a male issue. The problem was complicated by the practice of adoption which was allowed by Hindu law and religion. But Dalhousie showed scant regard for the practice of adoption. He

divided the states into three categories for the application of the 'Doctrine of Lapse'. They were: (i) the States created by the British Government (ii) tributary and subordinate States (iii) independent States. The right of adoption was denied to the first category of States. In the second category of States, the right of adoption without the previous consent of the suzerain was not entertained. In the case of independent States, the British Government did not interfere.

Annexations by the Doctrine of Lapse

Satara was the first victim to the 'Doctrine of Lapse'. The kingdom of Satara was carved out during the time of Lord Hastings for the Maratha Chhatrapati, Pratap Singh. Shaji II, the then Chhatrapati, died in 1848 without leaving a male issue. Satara was incorporated with the British dominions in 1848. Jaitpur and Sambhalpur were annexed in 1849. Baghat was annexed in 1850 and Udaipur in the Central Provinces (not to be confused with the namesake in Rajputana) in 1852. But the two annexations were however cancelled in 1862 and 1860 respectively. Gangadhar Rao, the Raja of Jhansi, died in 1853. His adopted son was not recognised by the Governor-General. Jhansi was annexed in 1853. Raghuji Bhonsle III, the ruler of Nagpur, died without leaving a male issue in 1853. The State was formally annexed to the British dominions.

Minor annexations, abolition of pensions and titles

Baji Rao II, the ex-Peshwa, died in 1851. The company refused to pay the pension of 8 lakhs of rupees to his adopted son Dundu Pant (Nana Saheb). The Nawab of the Carnatic, Mohammad Ghaus, died in 1855 without leaving a male issue. The title of the Nawab was abolished. The decision was, however, reversed in 1867 when Azam Jah was conferred an inferrior title of 'Prince of Arcot'. Sivaji, (the descendant of Vyankoji, the half-brother of Sivaji I) the Raja of Tanjore, died in 1855 leaving only two daughters. The title of the Raja was abolished. Wellesley took over the administration of Tanjore in 1799. But Dalhousie annexed Tanjore in 1855.

Annexation of Berar (1853)

The Nizam of Hyderabad failed to pay back the arrears of subsidy to the Company. Dalhousie demanded from the Nizam, the surrender of some districts in *lieu* of the subsidy. As the Nizam remained obstinate, the Company forcibly annexed Berar, a part of the Nizam's dominions, in 1853.

Annexation of Oudh (1856)

The annexation of Oudh was the unkindest of all the annexations of Dalhousie. The administration of Oudh fell into disrepute. In spite of the repeated warnings of successive Governors-General, Oudh continued to be misgoverned. On grounds of expediency and treaty obligations, none of the previous Governors-General annexed the territory. The administrative machinery practically broke down in Oudh. When things drifted from bad to worse, Dalhousie suggested to the Court of Directors to take over the administration for ever. But the Directors wanted the State to be annexed. When the Nawab of Oudh, Wajid Ali, refused to sign a treaty which left him his pension and title, the Governor-General annexed Oudh by a proclamation in 1856. The Nawab was given a pension of 12 lakhs of rupees a year. The annexation of Oudh has been trenchantly criticised by all right-minded people. The Nawabs of Oudh had remained very loyal and faithful to the British for a number of years. The Home authorities or the Governor-General could have done something short of annexation taking into consideration the steadfast loyalty of the Nawabs and the treaty obligations. The annexation was a diplomatic blunder of the first magnitude and it served as one of the potential causes of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.

Reforms of Dalhousie

In 1853, Dalhousie wrote the Railway Minute which has been considered as "one of the most comprehensive and farseeing which ever issued from a human brain". He is considered as the father of Indian Railways and Telegraphs. Before he laid down his office, the country was filled with patches of railway lines here and there and new lines were under construction. He also introduced two power-

ful engines of consolidation—telegraph and the half-anna postage. He constructed new roads and canals. To Dalhousie goes the credit of initiating a number of irrigation works. He reorganised and reconstructed the Public Works Department and alloted more funds to public utility schemes. He also left his impress in the educational field. Among other things reviewed during the renewal of the Charter of the Company in 1853, an enquiry was made about the system of education in India. It resulted in the famous Educational Despatch (1854) of Sir Charles Wood, the then President of the Board of Control. The Despatch sketched a comprehensive scheme of primary, secondary, and collegiate education and made provision for the establishment of universities in India. Dalhousie started his work of reforming the educational system in right earnest. Departments of public instructions were set up in all the four provinces. The three universities of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta were founded in 1857.

Estimate

In the words of Marshman, Dalhousie "occupies a very high rank among the great administrators of the Company". He was a great administrator and a foresighted statesman. His sweeping annexations had to be severely condemned. But by liquidating a number of States, he unconsiously sowed the seeds for the political and administrative unity of the country. His administrative reforms served as potent instruments of consolidation. Though he had no previous experience of Indian problems, he got perfect mastery over them in a very short period. In the words of Roberts: "his minutes and despatches are masterpieces of eloquent English, lucid statement and merciless logic". In the words of Richard Temple: As an imperial administrator, he [Dalhousie] has never been surpassed and seldom equalled by any of the illustrious men whom England has sent forth to govern India". Though Dalhousie committed certain excesses during his term of office, he may be considered as the Maker of Modern India.

14. LORD CANNING (1856-58)

Lord Canning, the son of Canning (one-time Prime Minister of Britain) succeeded Dalhousie as Governor-General in 1856. In the

very first year of his term of office, Persia attacked Herat. So it became imperative to undertake an expedition against Persia. She was defeated and a treaty was concluded in 1857. According to the terms of the treaty, Persia promised to withdraw from Herat and assured not to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan. In the same year, the Governor-General also entered into a treaty of friendship with Dost Muhammad of Afghanistan. The General Service Enlistment Act was passed in 1856 which enjoined every recruit in the army to serve not only in India but also outside. In the same year was passed another act which legalised the remarriage of Hindu widows. An important event which occurred during his rule was the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF GOVERNORS-GENERAL[1]

1. Warren Hastings (1774-1785)[2]
2. *Sir John Macpherson (1785-1786)*
3. Lord Cornwallis (1786-1793)
4. Sir John Shore (1793-1798)
5. *Sir A. Clarke (1798)*
6. Lord Wellesley (1798-1805)
7. Lord Cornwallis (1805)
8. *Sir George Barlow (1805-1807)*
9. Lord Minto I (1807-1813)
10. Lord Hastings (1813-1823)
11. *John Adam (1823)*
12. Lord Amherst (1823-1828)
13. *William B. Bayley (1828)*
14. Lord William Bentinck (1828-1835)[3]
15. *Sir Charles Metcalfe (1835-1836)*
16. Lord Auckland (1836-1842)
17. Lord Ellenborough (1842-1844)
18. *William W. Bird (1844)*
19. Lord Hardinge I (1844-1848)
20. Lord Dalhousie (1848-1856)
21. Lord Canning (1856-1858)[4]

1. The names of those Governors-General who filled in temporarily are printed in italics.

2. Warren Hastings became Governor of Bengal in April, 1772. He became Governor-General of Bengal in October, 1774 according to the provisions of the Regulating Act of 1773.

3. Lord William Bentinck became the first Governor-General of India according to the provisions of the Charter Act of 1833.

4. Lord Canning, the last Governor-General of the Company, became Viceroy and Governor-General under the Crown after the transfer of power in 1858.

15. CAREER OF RANJIT SINGH (1780-1839)

Early Life

The Sikhs became soldier-saints during the time of Guru Govind Singh. After his death in 1708, the mantle of leadership fell on Banda. He was put to death by Farrukhsiyar in 1716. After his death, the Sikhs got divided into two sections. The invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali gave the Sikhs good opportunities to extend their sphere of influence at the expense of the Mughals. They sank their minor differences and put up a stiff resistance against the crusading spirit of the invaders. After the withdrawal of the Abdali, the Sikhs captured the Punjab from Timur Shah, the Abdali's weak successor, and divided the Punjab among themselves and constituted themselves into twelve *Misls* or associations of warriors, each with a *Sardar* or *Misldar* at its head and thus established a "theocratic confederate feudalism". One of these *Misls* was under Mahan Singh. Ranjit Singh, "the man of destiny" was born to Mahan Singh in 1780.

Mahan Singh was the dominating figure in Sikh history from 1785 to 1792. He died in 1792 and his son Ranjit Singh came to power when he was only 12 years old. He was a born soldier. Zaman Shah, the grandson of Ahmad Shah Durrani, succeeded to the throne of Afghanistan in 1793. Ranjit Singh assisted Zaman Shah in his invasion of the Punjab in 1799. In recognition of the meritorious services rendered by him, Zaman Shah appointed him Governor of Lahore with the title of Raja when he was only 19 years old. The possession of Lahore increased his military prestige. Taking advantage of the internal dissensions among the leaders of

the Sikh confederacy, he extended his sphere of influence. He acquired Amritsar in 1802. He threw off the Afghan yoke and in due course became the master of the whole of the Sikh *Misls* west of the Sutlej. In the Second Maratha War, Jaswant Rao Holkar, who got defeated, came to Amritsar and sought the help of Ranjit Singh. But he refused to help him and concluded the treaty of Lahore with the British in 1806 by which the Holkar was excluded from the Punjab. Both parties recognised the Sutlej as the frontier separating the Sikh territories and British dominions.

Expansion beyond the Sutlej and the treaty of Amritsar

Mahadaji Sindhia was the lord of the Cis-Sutlej States (territory between the Sutlej and Jamna). The States came under the control of the British after the second Anglo-Maratha War. The disorder prevailing in the Cis-Sutlej States after the rout of Daulat Rao Sindhia and the loose control of the States by the British provided excellent opportunities for Ranjit Singh to fish in troubled waters. The problem was further complicated by the unending quarrels of the Sikh Chieftains in that area. Ranjit Singh crossed the Sutlej and occupied Ludhiana in 1807. Some of the Sikh Chieftains who were not favourably disposed to him sought the help of the British Resident at Delhi. But the British remained indifferent.

They soon had to interfere in the affairs of the Cis-Sutlej region as it occupied a vulnerable position in the north-west. Fear of French invasion of India by Napoleon forced Lord Minto, the then Governor-General, to open negotiations with Ranjit Singh to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with him against the French. Metcalfe was sent on a diplomatic mission to Ranjit Singh for the said purpose. Taking advantage of the dire necessity of the British who were bent upon a friendship with him, Ranjit Singh conquered some places in the Cis-Sutlej region. He further exploited the situation by demanding from the British, his sovereignty over all the Sikh States as the price of his alliance. Had the danger of French invasion been real, the aim of Ranjit Singh would have succeeded. But the fear of the invasion vanished as Napoleon embarked upon the Peninsular War.

The changed political situation helped Lord Minto to assert his position. He demanded the withdrawal of the forces of Ranjit Singh from the Cis-Sutlej States and threatened him with war. When Ranjit Singh refused to concede to the demands of Minto, a force was sent against him. Fear of the British might, coupled with the fear that the Sikh Chieftains of Cis-Sutlej might seek the shelter of the British led him to concede to the demands of the British. He singed a treaty of "perpetual friendship" with the British in 1809 at Amritsar. According to the terms of the treaty, Sutlej was recognised as the frontier separating the territories between the two parties. The Cis-Sutlej States passed under the direct protection of the British. The British frontier was pushed from the Jamna to the Sutlej. The failure of Ranjit Singh "to absorb the Cis-Sutlej States was a tragedy of Sikh militant imperialism".

Expansion in the North, North-East and North-West

The high hopes of Ranjit Singh to establish his supremacy over the entire Sikhs were shattered to pieces as a result of the treaty of Amritsar. He thenceforward concentrated his attention on the north, north-east and north-west with a view to bringing the whole of the Indus Valley under his control. He wrested from the Gurkhas, the Kangra District and confined them to the west of the Sutlej. He inflicted defeats on the Afghans and captured Attock in 1813. Shah Shuja, the ex-King of Afghanistan, became a virtual prisoner in the hands of Ranjit Singh and had to surrender the world-famous Koh-i-nur to him. In 1815, Shah Shuja escaped from Lahore to Ludhiana. Ranjit Singh captured Multan in 1818 and annexed Kashmir in 1819. Peshawar became a dependency of Ranjit Singh in 1823 and in 1834 it was annexed to his dominions. Ranjit Singh raised his kingdom into a first-class military State. The feasibility of a Russian invasion of India drove Lord William Bentinck to conclude a friendly treaty with Ranjit Singh. The outcome was the Indus Navigation Treaty of 1831 which renewed the Anglo-Sikh alliance. When he died in 1839, at the age of 59, Ranjit Singh left behind a mighty empire.

Estimate

Ranjit Singh's kingdom was a near-approach to a military State. He was a born-ruler of men and possessed an extraordinary memory power. In the creation of his kingdom he had to contend with the Afghans and the English. In the words of Cunningham, "he found the Punjab rent by factions and he consolidated it into a powerful State". Ranjit Singh has been called a "Bonaparte in miniature" by Victor Jacquemont. According to Sir Lepel Griffin, Ranjit Singh "ruled the country which his military genius had conquered with vigour of will and an ability which placed him in the front-rank of the statesmen of the century". Von Hugel, a German traveller says: "never perhaps was so large an Empire founded by one man with so little criminality". Dr. Sinha says "Ranjit Singh was to Guru Govind Singh what Lenin was to Karal Marx and what Omar was to Muhammad".

The government of Ranjit Singh was an one-man show depending upon the personality of the ruler for its continuance. He failed to inculcate in the minds of the people any noble sentiments that would have held his Empire intact after his death. He gave free vent to the military but failed to subordinate it to the civil authority. The evils of the system became fully manifest during the rule of his weak successors. The greatest mistake committed by Ranjit Singh was that he gave the upper hand to the British in his treaty with them. In the words of Bismarck: "a political alliance requires a rider and a horse". In the Anglo-Sikh alliance, the British Government was the rider and Ranjit Singh was the horse.

In the words of Sir Lepel Griffin: "There is, perhaps, no more notable and picturesque figure among the chiefs who rose to power on the ruins of the Mughal Empire than Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the founder of the short-lived Sikh kingdom of Lahore. In the stormy days at the beginning of the century, amid a fierce conflict of races and creeds he found his opportunity, and seizing it with energy, promptitude and genius, he welded the turbulent and warlike sectaries who followed the teaching of Govind Singh into a homogeneous nation".

CHAPTER II

INDIA PASSES UNDER THE COMPANY

I. THE FIRST ANGLO-MARATHA WAR (1775-82)

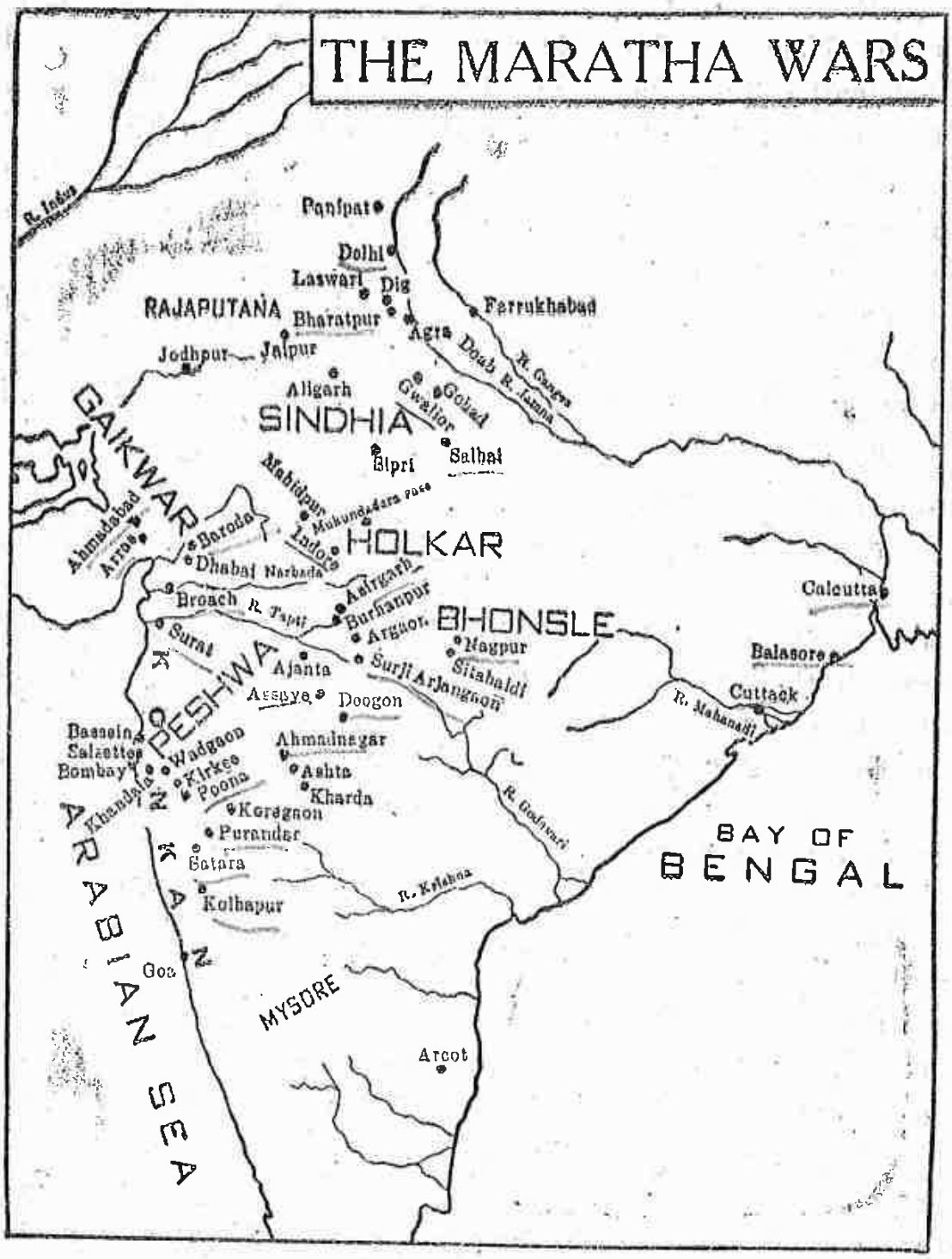
Causes of the War

Madhava Rao I, the fourth Peshwa, was succeeded by his brother Narayana Rao. He was murdered in 1773 by his uncle Raghunatha Rao (Raghoba) who then became the Peshwa. A posthumous son was born to Narayana Rao in 1774. The infant's claim to Peshwaship was taken up by Mahadaji Sindhia and Nana Farnavis. The infant Madhava Rao II was proclaimed Peshwa on the 40th day after his birth. Foreboding danger, Raghunatha Rao fled from Poona and sought the help of the British in Bombay to restore him to Peshwaship. He signed a treaty with the British at Surat in 1775 by which he agreed to cede Salsettee and Bassein in return for their help.

Course of the War

The British agreed to the terms of the treaty and straight away entered into action without communicating the matter to the Governor-General-in-Council. The British army defeated the Poona forces in the battle of Arras. In the meantime, the Supreme Council at Calcutta disapproved of the treaty of Surat. The Calcutta Government started negotiations and signed the treaty of Purandar with the Poona Government in 1776. According to the terms of the treaty, it was agreed that the English were to get Salsettee and 12 lakhs of rupees for war expenses and they were not to support the cause of Raghunatha Rao. It was further agreed that Raghunatha Rao should be given a monthly allowance of 25,000 rupees. But the Court of Directors of the Company approved the treaty of Surat and on the strength of the approval, the Bombay Government started hostilities against the Marathas in 1778. Mahadaji Sindhia defeated the Bombay forces and forced them to sign the humiliating treaty of Wargaon in 1779 by which they promised to surrender all their conquests and surrender Raghunatha Rao along with two British hostages. The Calcutta Government disapproved the treaty of Wargaon and started fresh hostilities. A British force

from Bengal was sent to the assistance of the Bombay Government. In the meantime, Ragunatha Rao escaped and joined with the British. Nana Farnavis (Peshwa's minister) entered into an alliance with Haidar Ali and Nizam Ali and formulated a joint



resistance against the English. The British forces under Colonel Goddard captured Ahmadabad and Bassein. Another British force under Bopham captured Gwalior. The Sindhia suffered a defeat at

R. Edwin

the hands of General Carnanc at Sipri. All these victories raised the prestige of the British. The British suffered only a minor reverse under the Marathas at Khandala in 1781. Mahadaji Sindhia started negotiations with the British but it was disapproved by Nana Farnavis. The war came to an end by the treaty of Salbai in 1782 and it was signed by Mahadaji Sindhia. The treaty received the signature of the Nana and the seal of the Confederacy only in 1783.

Results of the War

By the treaty, the English got only Salsettee and thus simply returned to the *Status 'quo*. The British were to discontinue all help to Raghunatha Rao who was to be pensioned off. It was also agreed that the Poona Government should exert pressure on Haider Ali and should see to the restoration of the territories conquered by him from the Nawab of Arcot and the English. The treaty of Salbai was a landmark in the history of India. Internal dissensions in Maharashtra provided an opportunity to the British to interfere in its affairs. Their shaky foothold in the west coast became firm and opened new vistas to carry on their future operations against the Marathas with impunity. The prestige of Mahadaji Sindhia soared high. He was elevated to the position of an umpire and was expected to report foul-play from either parties. He was given a free-hand in his dealings with the Mughal Emperor. Peace prevailed between the English and the Marathas for a period of 20 years.

The Marathas after the treaty of Salbai

Raghunatha Rao, the evil genius, died in 1783. The three outstanding personalities during this part of the history of Maharashtra were Ahalya Bai, the daughter - in-law of Malhar Rao Holkar, Mahadaji Sindhia and Nana Farnavis. Ahalya Bai was a good administrator. During her administration, peace and prospertity prevailed in Indore. She died in 1795. Mahadaji Sindhia made the Mughal Emperor a puppet in his hands and increased his influence and sphere of activity. He defeated Tukoji Holkar in 1793. Nana Farnavis grew jealous of the rising power of Sindhiya,

Internal dissensions weakened the cause of the Confederacy. Madhava Rao II brought about a reconciliation between Nana Farnavis and Mahadaji Sindhia. Sindhia died in 1794.

After the death of Mahadaji Sindhia, Nana Farnavis became the undisputed master. He joined with the Nizam and Cornwallis and formed an offensive and defensive alliance against Tipu Sultan of Mysore in 1790. As the *Diwan* of Hyderabad insulted the peshwa and the Nana, hostilities were started against the Nizam. The Maratha forces defeated Nizam Ali in the battle of Kharda in 1795 and dictated humiliating terms to him. Madhava Rao II committed suicide in 1795. He was succeeded by Baji Rao II, the son of Raghoba, in 1796. The relations between the Nana and Baji Rao II got strained. The Nana died in 1800. "With him departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha Government". After him Baji Rao II and Daulat Rao Sindhia—the two traitors, one in the South and the other in the North—controlled the destinies of the Marathas.

Internal Politics in the Maratha Empire

Mahadaji Sindhia, who died in 1724, was succeeded by his adopted son, Daulat Rao Sindhia. Malhar Rao Holkar died in 1766. Ahalya Bai, the widowed daughter-in-law of Malhar Rao, died in 1795. It was followed by the death of Tukoji Holkar in 1797. Jaswant Rao Holkar succeeded him. Daulat Rao Sindhia and Jaswant Rao Holkar were men of straw and they hotly contested for the supremacy at Poona. Daulat Rao Sindhia murdered Vithoji Holkar, the brother of Jaswant Rao Holkar. The offended and irritated Holkar defeated the combined forces of the Sindhia and Peshwa and captured Poona. Baji Rao II fled from Poona and took shelter in Bassein He sought the help of Wellesley. He signed a subsidiary treaty with him at Bassein in 1802. With British help, Baji Rao II was restored to Peshwaship in 1803. Jaswant Rao Holkar retired from Poona. The bloody operation of the Confederacy upon itself weakend its position and paved the way for the rise of the British power.

CAREER OF NANA FARNAVIS (1741-1800)

Balaji Janardhan, better known by his nick-name and official title, "Nana Farnavis" or "Nana Fadnis" was born in a Brahmin family in 1741. Farnavis or Fadnis (Deputy Auditor and Accountant) was a hereditary office held by the family. Nana was the nick-name for Balaj Janardhan. He was not a promising youth in his early days. He participated in the Third battle of Panipat fought in 1761. He and Mahadaji Sindhia miraculously escaped from the battle-field. He became a personal ***carcoon*** (revenue clerk) of Madhava Rao I in 1762. In the next year, he was appointed Fadnis. When Raghunatha Rao, the uncle of Madhava Rao I started his intrigues against him, he was captured and imprisoned in 1768 and Farnavis served as gaoler of Raghunatha Rao in 1768.

The latent qualities of the Nana found fuller and freer expression only after the death of Madhava Rao Peshwa in 1772. As Madhava Rao I had no sons, his younger brother Narayana Rao became Peshwa in 1772, when he was only 17 years old. He was murdered by Raghunatha Rao on August 30, 1773, and he became the Peshwa. But the architect of the gruesome murder remained in office only for a few months. A Posthumous son was born to Narayana Rao in 1774, through his widowed wife Ganga Bai. Gopika Bai (mother of Narayana Rao) and Ganga Bai (widow of Narayana Rao) strengthened their position by rallying under their banner the trusted and tried officers of Maharashtra. A band of twelve influential people under the leadership of Nana Farnavis constituted themselves into a Council of Regency called ***Barabhai*** or Twelve Brothers. The Council proclaimed Madhava Rao II, the infant son of Narayana Rao, as the Peshwa on the 40th day after his birth in 1774. The new Peshwa remained a puppet in the hands of the Nana from his cradle to the grave. Only his death in 1795 freed him from the Nana's tutelage.

The Council of Regency was torn asunder by internal cliques. The outbreak of the First Anglo-Maratha War in 1775 made matters still worse and added fuel to the fire. Ever since Madhava Rao II assumed office as Peshwa, Nana Farnavis became one of the

ministers. He dexterously manoeuvered matters in such a way as to assert thimself as the first among equals. His position as the Prime Minister to the peshwa was unofficially confirmed by the Governor-General-in-Council at Calcutta in 1775 when the latter interfered in the Maratha affairs and gave due recognition to the Maratha Confederacy under the administration of Nana Farnavis.

Nana's part in the First Maratha War (Refer pp. 49-51)

During the course of the First Anglo-Maratha War (1775-82), Nana Farnavis consolidated his position and removed one rival after another. He dissolved the *Barabhai* Council in 1781. "It has been truly said that war cannot be conducted by a debating club and therefore Nana Phadnis' action in liquidating the Council of the *Barabhai* and making himself sole autocrat, was not a selfish measure, but a step dictated by the needs of the nation in that life and death struggle with enemies all-round Maharashtra and within it sapping its strength". He severly punished the adherents of Raghunatha Rao. From 1781 onwards, Nana Farnavis assisted by Mahadaji Sindhia became the undisputed master of Maharashtra right upto the death of the Peshwa in 1795. Raghunatha Rao died in 1783. Mahadaji Sindhia extended his sphere of influence and made the Mughal Emperor a puppet in his hands. Nana Farnavis grew Jealous of the rising power of the Sindhia. Internal dissensions weakened the cause of the Confederacy. Madhava Rao II brought about a reconciliation between Nana Farnavis and Mahadaji Sindhia. The Sindhia died in 1794.

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Daulat Rao Sindhia. He was set at liberty in 1798 and he was reappointed minister to the Peshwa. But the Nana was not in his former self. The petty severities inflicted on him shook up his health and spirits. He died in 1800. "With him departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha Government".

Estimate

Men of superhuman ability in the history of India are a handful and Nana Farnavis was one of them. He was an able administrator and a Machiavelli in statecraft. He saved the Maratha State from the danger that came from the British. He was no great soldier. He relied more on his pen than on his gun. He was extremely fond of the fair sex, He had nine wives and when he died at the age of sixty, the age of his youngest wife was nine. The love of power corrupted his mind and the glitter of gold dazzled his eyes. In the words of Sardesai : "Nana would have acquired a much higher place in history, had he subordinated his love of power and monetary interest to the service of the nation, allowing a chance to others for managing the affairs of the State". Universal praise is bestowed upon him for his wonderful genius and capacity. Though every now and then he was at logger-heads with Mahadaji Sindhia, yet at the time of peril he co-operated with him and kept the ship of the State on an even keel. And there lies the greatness of the Nana. In spite of his weaknesses, Nana Farnavis was "certainly a great statesman. His principal defects originated in the want of personal courage and in an ambition not always restrained by principles His life was entirely public. In private he was a man of veracity, humane, frugal and charitable. His whole time was regulated with the strictest order and the business personally transacted by him almost exceeds credibility. Nana doubtless shines out as the last genius produced by the Maratha nation". Nana Farnavis was the only foresighted Maratha statesman who understood the real intentions of the British. As a prophet of the probable and the seer of the certain, his prophetic words to Baji Rao II: "Tipu finished, the Brirish power has increased, the whole of East India is theirs. Poona will now be the next victim. Evil days seem to be ahead.

There seems to be no escape from destiny", came true after the end of the third and the last Anglo-Maratha war. The name of the Nana will ever remain green not only in the minds of the people of Maharashtra but also the whole of India as a symbol of patriotism and an embodiment of industry.

3. THE SECOND ANGLO-MARATHA WAR (1803-1806)

Causes of the War

The Second Anglo-Maratha War broke out during the time of Lord Wellesley. The British knew very well that the treaty of Bassein was "a treaty with a cipher (the Peshwa)". Real power rested with the confederate chiefs. Peshwa Baji Rao II soon realised that the step he had taken was suicidal. His policy of setting one confederate chief against the other proved disastrous. He repented fo his past actions and sent secret messages to the confederate chief requesting them to stand uuited at the hour of crisis. The Holkar deserted the coalition. The Gaikwar remained neutral. Daulat Rao Sindhia and Raghuji Bhonsle II of Berar combined their forces and prepared for the impending contest. The wars were fought in two theatres—the Deccan and North India. Lord Lake commanded the British forces in the North and Arthur Wellesley (brother of the Governor-General) in the Deccan.

Course of the War

War with Sindhia and Bhonsle (1803)

Arthur Wellesley captured Ahmadnagar and defeated the combined forces of Daulat Rao Sindhia and Raghuji Bhonsle II at Assaye in 1803. He effected another junction with the combined forces of the confederate chiefs at Argaon in the same year and defeated them. Lake defeated the forces commanded by the French commander. Parron at Aligarh in 1803. He defeated another army of the Sindhia commanded by another French commander Louis Bourguin at Delhi in 1803. Lake captured Delhi and Agra. The remaining army of the Sindhia commanded by Ambaji Ingle was defeated by Lake in a hotly contested battle at Laswari near Alwar in 1803.

Treaty of Deogaon with Bhonsle II (Refer page 19)
Treaty of Surji-Arjangaon with Sindhia (Refer page 19)

War with Holkar 1804-1806

Jaswant Rao Holkar who was playing a waiting-game, entered the war towards the closing stages. Being a votary of the guerilla tactics, he created confusion and consternation in enemy circles. He defeated Colonel Monson at Mukundara Pass in 1804. He besieged Delhi which was ably defended by the Rasident. Lake succeeded in defeating the forces of the Holkar at Dig and another at Farrukhabad, both in 1804. The Holkar took refuge in the Fort of Bharatpur in 1805. The Raja of Bharatpur espoused the cause of the Holkar. The British laid siege to Bharatpur but failed to capture it. Mounting debts of the Company and the failures of Monson and Lake compelled the Home authorities to recall Wellesley. Cornwallis became the new Governor-General in July, 1805 and before he could do anything, he died in October, 1805. Barlow, the senior-most member of the Council, became acting Governor-General. In the meantime, the Holkar escaped to Amritsar and sought the help of Ranjit Singh. Lake gave a hot—chase to him. As the Holkar did not get any help from the Sikhs, he opened negotiations with the British and peace was concluded in 1806. The Holkar gave up his claims to some of the Rajput territories but got back most of his lost territories. The British withdrew their protection from the other Rajput States and thus allowed the Holkar a free-play in those regions.

4. THE THIRD ANGLO-MARATHA WAR (1817-19)

The Third Anglo-Maratha War was fought during the administration of Lord Hastings (1813-23). Peshwa Baji Rao II dreamed of re-establishing the Maratha Confederacy under his leadership and to shake off the British yoke. He came under the evil influence of his favourtie Trimbakji and carried on secret negotiations with the Sindhia, Bhonsle and Holkar for organizing a united front against the British. Gangadhar Sastri, the minister of the Gaikwar of Baroda, came to Poona to settle some old accounts with the Peshwa. Trimbaji treacherously murdered the Sastri in 1815. The murderer was imprisoned at the instance of the Resident of Poona. But he escaped from prison. The British who were closely watching such

outrageous and treasonable activities of Baji Rao II took drastic measures against him. The peshwa was forced to sign a new subsidiary treaty at Poona in 1817. According to the terms of the treaty, he resigned the headship of the Martha Confederacy, ceded Konkan and other territories to the British and recognised the independence of the Gaikwar.

War with Baji Rao II

When the British authorities at Poona were busily engaged in the suppression of the Pindaris, Baji Rao II burnt the Poona Residency. The British forces withdrew to Kirkee where they defeated the Peshwa's forces. They captured Poona and the Peshwa fled to Satara. He then fled to the North along with Chatrapati Paratap Singh and his family. His flight was turned to the south by the British forces. In 1818, he was defeated in the battles of Koregaon and Ashta. He fled from Ashta leaving the royal family which then fell into the hands of the British. He fled from place to place in search of asylum. When he found all the doors closed and well-guarded, he surrendered in 1818. Hastings abolished the Peshwaship and his territories were incorporated with the British dominions. Baji Rao II remained a prisoner in the hands of the British with an annual pension of 8 lakhs. He adopted Dundu Pant *alias* Nana Saheb as his son in 1827. Baji Rao II died on 28th January, 1851. Hastings made Pratap Singh the ruler for the small kingdom of Satara, carved out of the Peshwa's dominions.

War with Appa Saheb Bhonsle

Raghuji Bhonsle II who died in 1816 was succeeded by his imbecile son Parsoji. Appa Saheb who became the regent killed him in 1817 and became the Bhonsle. Though he adopted a friendly attitude towards the British, it was turned hostile due to the evil influence of Baji Rao II. He gave offence to the British by attacking the Nagpur Residency. The British started the offensive and defeated him in the battle of Sitabaldi in 1817. He surrendered and signed a treaty with the British. But again he started his treasonable activities. He was imprisoned in 1818. But he effected his escape, took shelter under Raja Man Singh of Jodhpur and died there in 1840. Parsoji's widowed wife Durgabai adopted a son, Bajiba Gaur

(a ten-year old son of Banubai, the daughter of Raghuji) who became the new Bhonsle under the name of Raghuji Babu Saheb (Raghuji Bhonsle III)

War with Holkar

Jaswant Rao Holkar who died in 1811 was succeeded by his son, Malhar Rao (1811-33), a lad of four years. He wasadopted by Tulsi Bai, one of the concubines of Jaswant Rao and she carried on the government as the regent. But real power was in the hands of two Pathan leaders—Amir Khan and Gafur Khan. Amir Khan was the leader of the Pathan army of the Holkar family and Tantia Jog was the leader of the Maratha division of the Indore forces. Amir Khan concluded a friendly treaty with the British and retired as a Nawab for a newly carved out territory for him from the Holkar. After the exit of Amir Khan, Gafur Khan took up his place. Suspecting Tulsi Bai's leanings towards the British, Gafur Khan killed her in 1817 and imprisoned Tantia Jog. Gafur Khan who was favourably disposed to the Peshwa started the offensive against the British. The spirited and young Malhar Rao Holkar II put up a stiff resistance against the English. But the Holkar's army was defeated by the British forces at Mahidpur in 1817. He surrendered and concluded a subsidiary treaty with Hastings in 1818 at Mandasor. He gave up all his claims over the Rajput territories and ceded his territories south of the Narbada to the British. He agreed to station a British force within his territory and to maintain a British Resident. After the end of the Third Anglo-Maratha War, the constitution of Bombay Presidency proper became a *fait accompli*.

5. THE DOWNFALL OF THE MARATHAS

(1) Weak Successors of Sivaji

The brief but bright regin of Sivaji was humane and beneficent. As the Maratha Empire, like the Mughal Empire, was an one-man show, everything went on well as long as a strong man was at the helm of affairs. The successors of Sivaji were weak and imbecile. Shahu I was able to patch up differences between the confederate chiefs and keep the house in order. He stood as the symbol of unity

and focus of national patriotism. Everything departed after his death because his successors with the exception of Rajaram and his wife Tara Bai became objects of ridicule and majesties of mockery.

(2) Ascendancy of the Peshwas

The Maratha Empire was saved from extinction by the good administration of the first four Peshwas. The office of the Peshwa became hereditary during the time of Baji Rao I. The ascendancy of the Peshwas went side by side with the growth in power and influence of the confederate chiefs. The confederate ideal which took roots during the time of Balaji Viswanath, the first Peshwa, put up branches during the time of Baji Rao I and blossomed during the time of Balaji Baji Rao Baji Rao I, the second Peshwa, was able to keep the chiefs under control. The affable nature of Balaji Baji Rao gave them a free-play. Madhava Rao I was undoubtedly the greatest of the Peshwas during whose time the prestige of the Maratha State rose to celestial heights. But during the rule of his successors, the inevitable downfall of the Empire started. Madhava Rao II had at least able administrators like Nana Farnavis and Mahadaji Sindhia. Raghunatha Rao betrayed the nation and Baji Rao II, the son of that evil genius, surrendered the nation into the hands of the British. He was a traitor of the first order well-versed in fraud and deceit. He used the other confederate chiefs to pull the chestnuts out of the fire in order to assert his supremacy. He set the one against the other instead of rallying them under one banner. The collapse of the Maratha Empire was gradual and soon became final during the time of Baji Rao II.

(3) The Confederacy

The Maratha confederacy which consisted of the Peshwa at Poona, the Holkar at Indore, the Gaikwar at Baroda, the Sindhia at Gwalior and the Bhonsle at Nagpur proved to be a stumbling block to the progress of the Empire. The confederate idea paid rich dividends as long as the chiefs stood united. The chronic feud among the confederate chiefs weakened their position. When once dissensions started, it ate into the vitals of the Empire. Even during the time of Balaji Baji Rao, the third Peshwa, Raghuji

Bhonsle adopted an independent attitude and was keen on extending his dominions. His aims were wider and far-reaching. His example was copied by the other confederate chiefs who stretched their gaze beyond their modest realms. Malhar Rao Holkar I, Mahadaji Sindhia and Nana Farnavis were men of great ability. After them the country ceased to produce such supermen. Mediocrities and minors filled the void. Under such inefficient leaders, the inevitable deterioration of the Empire started. Outwardly they professed friendship but inwardly they inhaled contempt. The fratricidal feud among them was like the Wars of the Roses, a bloody operation of the nobility upon itself. There was no unity among them. The Gaikwar always remained neutral. The Holkar entered the Second Anglo - Maratha War only after the defeat of the Sindhia and the Bhonsle. Jaswant Rao Holkar and Daulat Rao Sindhia often engaged themselves in quarrels. Loyalty to the central authority and patriotism to the country departed from the governing classes if not from the people. Daulat Rao Sindhia, along with the Peshwa "drove the last nail into the coffin of the Maratha State" by their blundering and plundering deeds.

(4) Maladministration

The administration of the country was not based on wise and salutary principles. During the time of Sivaji and the first four Peshwas, the administration was based on sound principles. The inevitable deterioration started during the time of their successors. The Maratha State failed to create permanent political institutions in the country. In the words of Sarkar there was "no attempt at well-thought-out organised communal improvement, spread of education or unification of the people either under Sivaji or under the Peshwas. The cohesion of the people of the Maratha State was not organic but artificial, accidental and therefore precarious". The ***Pax Romana*** or Roman peace gave peace and prosperity to the Romans during the rule of the mighty Caesars. But the ***Pax Marattica*** was based on the principle of "take pay for not ruling". They completely neglected the economic position of the country. The sons of the soil of Maharashtra were not in a positon to give adequ-

ate taxes to the ever-increasing needs of the State. Hence the administrators collected *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* from neighbouring States. The exaction of tributes was a dignified method of plundering. These tributes were not of a steady nature. When these sources dried up due to subsequent annexations by the British, the inevitable financial breakdown started. The administrative machinery ceased to function and the country lay prostrate before the British. Their unbridled despotism drivelled the country into the dotage of decay.

(5) The Deterioration of the Army

Sivaji kept the army well-drilled and disciplined. As the ambition of the Marathas increased, the army also swelled. Non-Maratha elements like Pathans, Rajputs, Europeans, *etc.*, were also entertained in the army. Loyalty and obedience could not be expected from foreign elements. The Pathan leaders murdered Tulsi Bai and the British soldiers deserted the Maratha camp during the Third Anglo-Maratha War. The Marathas who were well-versed in the traditional hit-and-run tactics deviated from it and took to pitched battles. The Maratha army, like the Mughal army, in course of time became a moving city. During the Third battle of Panipat, the Maratha camp consisted of women also. The morale and discipline of the soldiers departed. They completely neglected the navy. During the administration of Balaji Baji Rao, he sought the help of the British to crush Tulaji Angre, the Maratha admiral. The British not only crushed him but burnt all the Maratha fleet. He could have taken measures to raise a fleet to guard the western coast. But the neglect gave the British a foothold in the west coast form where they hammered blow after blow on the Marathas.

(6) The Advent of the British

The British getting a foothold in the west coast was "one of the many lucky accidents that steadily favoured the growth of English power in India". During the First Anglo-Maratha War (1775-82), the American War of Independence was raging in all its fury. The British befriended Mahadaji Sindhia and patched up a peace. They were not such cousummate fools to lose a hard-won

Empire. During the Second Anglo-Maratha War (1803-1806), Napoleon Bonaparte was at the height of his power dictating terms to the British. They administered caution and moderation in their dealings with native States. They were past-masters in creating fifth columnists. They also knew who the rival parties were within Maharashtra. Gaikwar was made neutral by them. They secured the friendship of the Nizam. Though Wellesley forced the confederate chiefs to enter into subsidiary treaties, his policy was reversed by the Home authorities. Barlow entered into new treaties offering better terms to the confederate chiefs. This was only to lull the suspicions of the people and to allow the British breathing-space to consolidate and strengthen their foothold. On the eve of the Third Anglo-Maratha War(1817-19), they were completely free from the Napoleonic phobia. The Waterloo of 1815 sealed the doom of Napoleon. Caution turned into action and they incorporated the Maratha territories. Had not Maharashtra produced that evil genius Raghunatha Rao (Raghoba) and traitors like Baji Rao II and Daulat Rao Sindhia and had the Rajputs, the Mughals and the Nizam of Hyderabad rallied under the banner of the Maratha confederate chiefs, the course of history would have been entirely different. The English would have long back bid farewell to India. The British with their supreme military might and better discipline defeated the Marathas, the only surviving power worthy of the name. The Marathas failed to understand the real intention of the British. Nana Farnavis was the only foresighted statesman who realised it. His prophetic words to Baji Rao II: "Tipu finished, the British power has increased, the whole of East India is already theirs. Poona will now be the next victim. Evil days seem to be ahead. There seems to be no escape from destiny" came true after the end of the third and the last Anglo-Maratha War.

6. THE FIRST ANGLO-MYSORE WAR (1767-69)

Early life of Haidar

Haidar, the Lion was the son of Fatah Muhammad, the *faujdar* of the Raja of Mysore. The *jagir* of Budikotta was assigned to Muhammad. Haidar Ali, the soldier of fortune, was born at Budi-

kotta in 1722. What is called education, he never received. He was entirely a self-made man. He became the *faujdar* of Dindigul under the Raja of Mysore in 1755. He drilled a standing army aad considerabdly enhanced his military and financial position. Haidar was summoned by the Raja to suppress a mutiny of the State troops. He admirably accomplished the task by taking the ring-leaders to task. When the Marathas besieged Bangalore in 1759, Haidar forced them to raise the siege. According to the terms of the treaty, the 14 pledged districts to the Maraths were restored to the king of Mysore in return for a fixed payment of 32 lakhs of rupees. In recognition of his meritorious services, Chikka Krishna Raj or Krishna Raj the younger (1736-66) conferred on Haidar Nayak, the title of Fatah Haidur Bahadur.

Usurpation (1761)

Chikka Krishna Raj, the King of Mysore. was a puppet in the hands of his *Dalawa* Nanjaraj. He longed for freedom from the thraldom of the minister. The king tried to extricate himself from the control of the minister with the help of a Brahmin, Khande Rao. The latter approached Haidar who was then the virtual commandar of the Mysore forces. Haidar not only removed Nanjaraj from office but himself assumed all powers. Khande Rao, the new minister, suddenly turned against Haidar and the latter suffered a defeat at the hands of the former at Seringapatam. By a clever stroke of stratagem, he outwitted Khande Rao and defeated his forces. He took him a prisoner but promised to the King "to cherish him like a *tota* (parrot)". He kept up the word by putting him in an iron-cage and feeding him on rice and milk till his death. Haidar usurped power and became the *de facto* ruler of Mysore in 1761.

The Conquests of Haidar (1761-67)

Hadiar purchased the Nawabship of Sira from Baslat Jang, the brother of Nizam Salabat Jang. and got from him the title of Haidar Ali Khan Bahadur. He reduced Chikka Ballapur. Raidrug, Harpanhalli and Chitaldurg. In 1763, he made a treacherous knock of Bednur, a territory which belonged to the Nayaks of Keladi who

subsequently transferred their capital to Ikkeri and finally to Bednur. Haidur suffered a major reverse at the hands of the Marathas at Rattihalli, south of Savanur in 1765. He next turned his attention to the conquest of Malabar. Ali Raja, the Maplah ruler of Cannanore, invited Haidar with the view of obtaining his independence. Haidar captured Calicut and the Raja's of Cochin and Palghat tendered their submission to him. In 1766, Chikka Krishna Raj died and Haidar placed on the throne his eldest son Nanjaraj, another puppet in the hands of Haidar. The Peshwa Madhava Rao I conducted an expedition against Haidar in 1766-67 and dictated terms to him. In the meantime, his uncle Raghunatha Rao started his intrigues against him. He demanded the partition of the country and prepared himself for the trial of strength. But he was routed, captured and imprisoned in 1768. In the absence of Madhava Rao I, Haidar recovered almost all the lost territories. So Madhava Rao I, once again started to the South in 1770 and recovered many places. But ill-health compelled him to return to headquarters. The operations were continued by his generals and the war with Haidar came to an end in 1772 and Haidar signed a humiliating treaty.

In the midst of his preoccupations, Haidar found Nanjaraj, the Raja of Mysore, in secreat negotiations with the Marathas. He ordered him to be strangled in 1770 and placed on the throne his brother, Chamaraj (1770-76). After his death Haidar placed on the throne another Chamaraj (1776-1796). The throne of Mysore remained vacant from 1796 to 1799 as Tipu did not nominate anybody. After the death of Tipu in 1799, the British placed on the throne Krishna Raj III (1799-1868).

Causes of the First Anglo-Mysore War

The Marathas, the Nizam and the British grew jealous of the rising power of Haidar. The Nizam entered into an alliance with the British at Madras in 1766. According to the terms of the treaty it was agreed that the British should help the Nizam against Haidar Ali in return for the surrender of Northern

Sarkars. The Marathas, the Nizam and the British entered into a loose alliance of mutual help against Haidar Ali. The Marathas started the offensive against Haidar. But the loyalty of the Marathas was purchased by Haidar by paying them 23 lakhs of rupees. Nizam Ali, 'the Nizam of Hyderabad, started operations against Haidar by invading Mysore in 1767 with the assistance of British forces commanded by Smith. In the midst of the operations, Nizam Ali betrayed the British and joined with Haidar. In spite of the betrayal, smith was able to defeat the forces of Haidar and Nizam at the Changam Pass and Thiruvannamalai in 1767. The fickle-minded Nizam deserted Haidar and concluded a fresh treaty with the British in 1768 promising to honour the old treaty obligations. Undaunted by the desertion of the Nizam, Haidar recaptured Mangalore from the British in 1768. He swept over the southern plains leaving behind destruction and devastation. He captured Karur and Erode. He then swept over the plains of the Carnatic and appeared within five miles of Madras in 1769. He dictated liberal peace terms to the English making provisions for the restoration of conquered territories. But he retained Karur. A mutual defensive alliance was also concluded.

7. THE SECOND ANGLO-MYSORE WAR (1780-84)

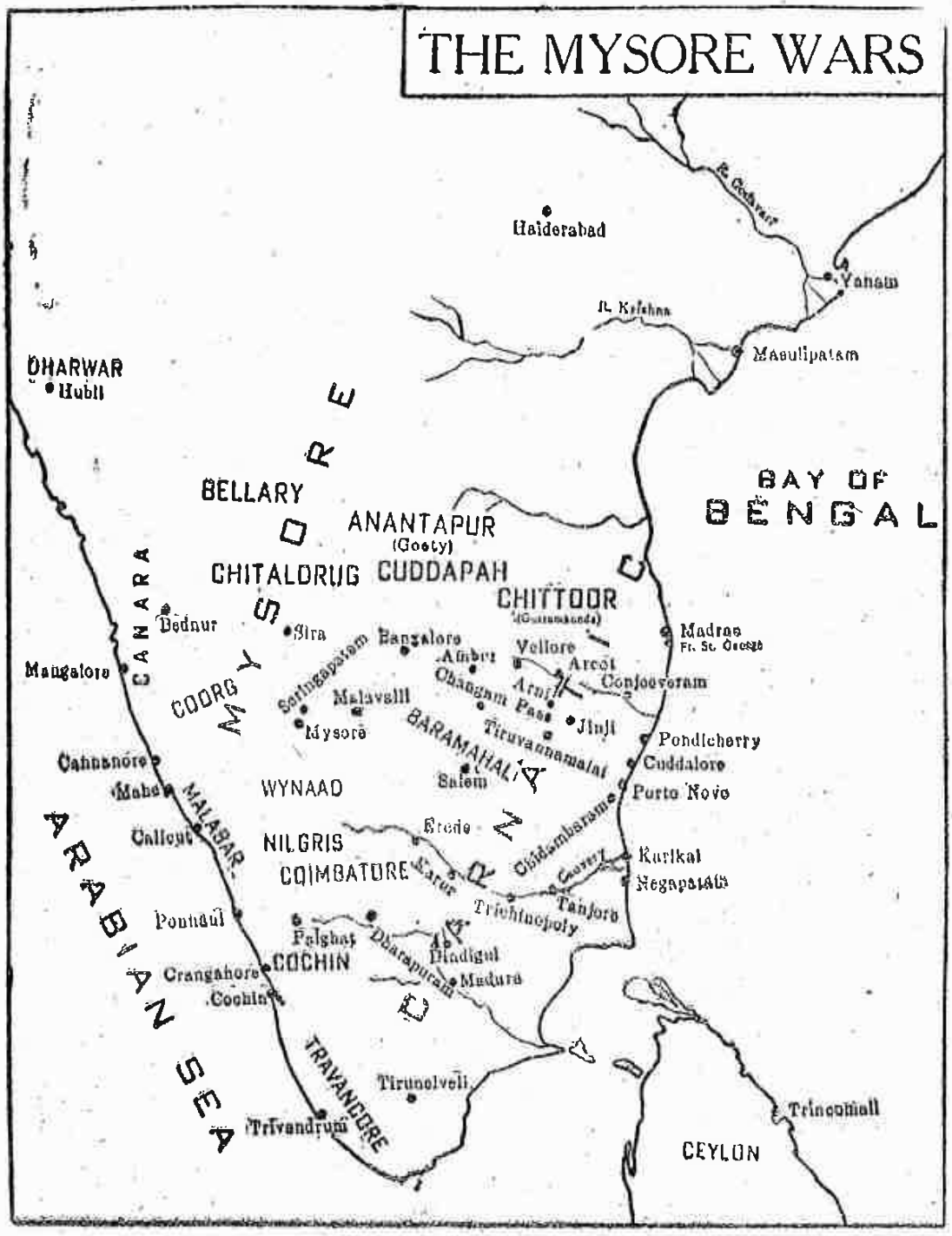
The Second Anglo-Mysore War was fought during the time of Warrn Hastings. The ofiensive and defensive alliance signed in 1769 between Haidar and the English remained a dead-letter because the English did not help Haidar when his territories were attacked by the Marathas in 1771. The Nizam and the Marathas were also discontented. The discontented parties forged a grand alliance against the British in 1779, consisting of Haidar, the Nizam, the Peshwa and the Bhonsle. The French lent their support to the grand coalition. The British captured one by one the French possessions in India. When they captured Mahe in 1780, Haidar protested as it lay within his jurisdiction. But the British turned a deaf ear to it. Determined to strike, Haidar strengthened his military equipment with the help of the French. After the preliminaries were settled, the Second Anglo-Mysore War started in 1780

The army of Haidar swept over the plains of the Carnatic like an avalanche carrying destruction with him. In 1780, Tipu, the son of Haidar, inflicted a crushing defeat on the British forces commanded by Colonel Baile. Munro suffered a major reverse under Haidar. Munro who was severely wounded in the battle, retired to Madras. Haidar captured Arcot, the headquarters of the Carnatic.

The Madras Government sent frantic appeals to the Calcutta Government to send immediate assistance. The position of the British changed for the better with the arrival of Sir Eyre Coote, the hero of Wandiwash, who then assumed the supreme command of the British forces. In the meanwhile, Warren Hastings successfully negotiated with the Bhonsle of Nagpur, Mahadaji Sindhia and the Nizam and detached them from the grand alliance, Unnerved by these desertions, Haidar carried on his work of destruction with fire and vigour. The French fleet lent able support to Haidar by putting a stop to the supplies of Sir Eyre Coote coming through the sea. Haider worked havoc in land by cutting off the land communications. But the French fleet sailed away from the Coramandel coast for some reason or other. It was a turn in the tide. Sir Eyre Coote got the upperhand and won three resounding victories over Haidar at Porto Novo, Polilur and Sholingur – all in 1781. Early in 1782, Tipu won a resounding victory over Colonel Baaith Waite near Tanjore. But Tipu's attempt to arrest the onward march of the British in the western coast resulted in his defeat at Ponnani (South Malabar). In the meantime, the Anglo-Dutch War started. The British captured the Dutch possessions of Negapatam in India and Trincomali in Ceylon. The British Admiral Hughes kept engaged the French Admiral Suffren. Haidar captured Cuddalore with the help of the French in 1782. His last encounter with Sir Eyre Coote at Arni proved to be an indecisive battle. In 1782 Haidar died of cancer.

After the death of Haidar, the war was carried on by his son Tipu. Mangalore surrendered to General Mathews in 1783. In the same year, he captured Bednur. But Tipu recovered it and imprisoned Mathews along with other men and officers and sent them to

Seringapatam where they were brutally dealt with. He laid siege to Mangalore which was bravely defended by Colonel Campbell. While the siege of Mangalore was going on, the British freed from French aggression due to the cessation of hostilities in Europe, made a good



harvest by capturing Karur, Dindigul Dharapuram, Palghat and Coimbatore. The British forces proceeded to besiege Seringapatam. But as Tipu started peace negotintions, the siege was given up. Mangalore fell to Tipu in 1784 and he

despatched 30,000 Christians to Mysore where they were forcibly converted to the Islamic faith. The Second Anglo-Mysore War came to an end in 1784 by the treaty of Mangalore. According to the terms of the treaty, it was agreed to the mutual restoration of the conquests and freeing of the prisoners of war.

Estimate of Haidar

Haidar was an out-and-out self-made man. He started life from a scratch. By dint of his ability, he rose from position to position and finally became the virtual ruler of Mysore. He was a gifted soldier and an expert rider. He dexterously handled the sword and skilfully manned the guns. He possessed an extraordinary retentive power. He was an able administrator and an excellent general. Though he brutally dealt with the prisoners, he was not cruel for the sake of cruelty. He was not a fanatic like his son Tipu. Haidar never bothered about the religious faiths of the people who served under him. He attended to the minute details of Government. He was a born leader. He was a terror to his people and a nightmare to the British. Had French help come to him at the right time and had the native powers made common cause with him, then Haidar would have driven out the British from the South But circumstances conspired otherwise. Even though he was an usurper, the people of Mysore still cherish his name with respect if not with admiration.

THE THIRD ANGLO-MYSORE WAR (1790-92)

The Third Anglo-Mysore War was fought during the administration of Cornwallis. Tipu realised the importance of the possession of Malabar as a base to carry on his operations against the British. In 1789, he forced a war on the Raja of Travancore, an ally of the British, on the flimsy pretext that the Raja had erected defensive lines on the territory of the Cochin Raja, a feudatory of Tipu. He tasted defeat at the hands of the Travancore forces. The wounded tiger smarting under disgrace, started operations with renewed vigour in 1790. He easily defeated the Travancore forces and laid waste the country by pulling down temples and setting fire to the villages. This was an open provocation for a war with the British

Cornwallis, the then Governor-General of Bengal, by diplomatic moves won over the Marathas and the Nizam to his side. He concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with both of them separately and declared war against Tipu. In the beginning, everything went on well in favour of Tipu. But the wind began to blow in the opposite direction when Cornwallis himself assumed the supreme command of the forces. He captured Bangalore in 1791. He then proceeded to Seringapatam, the headquarters of Tipu and appeared within nine miles of the capital city. As the monsoon broke out, Cornwallis retired to Mangalore. He resumed the offensive in the summer and proceeded to Seringapatam and captured on the way a number of hill forts of Tipu. When Cornwallis reached within sight of Seringapatam, Tipu averted a major disaster to his metropolis by suing for peace. The war came to an end by the treaty of Seringapatam signed in 1792. Tipu lost half of his possessions. The British got Malabar, Dindigul and Baramahal. Coorg also slipped from the hands of Tipu. The Raja of Coorg became feudatory to the Company. The Nizam and the Marathas got territorits adjacent to their respective dominions. Tipu had to pay a huge war indemnity of 3 crores and 30 lakhs of rupees. He surrendered two of his sons as hostages to the Company in lieu of the payment of the war indemnity. Shortly afterwards Tipu paid a part payment of the war indemnity and cleared the whole amount in 1794 and got back his two sons. The Nizam and the Marathas — the half-sleeping-partners in the enterprise — got larger slices of territories. The liberal terms dictated to Tipu by Cornwallis had been severely criticised. He could have crushed Tipu and annexed the whole of his territories. Cornwallis knew well that such actions like outright annexation would provoke the Nizam and the Marathas. Further, the time was not ripe for annexation and hence he administered caution in his policy. The net effect of the Third Anglo-Mysore War can be summed up in the declaration of Cornwallis. "We have effectively crippled our enemy, without making our friends too formidable".

THE FOURTH ANGLO-MYSORE WAR (1799)

The Fourth Anglo-Mysore War was fought during the time of Wellesley. The treaty of Seringapatam did not seal the doom of Tipu. He was burning in his heart of hearts to wreak vengeance on the British. He tried all possible means to break the partnership of the British, the Nizam and the Marathas. He despatched an embassy to Zaman Shah (grandson of Ahmad Shah Abdali) the Afghan ruler and exhorted him in the name of religion to help him in his miserable predicament. He also sent embassies to Arabia, Constantinople and Mauritius. He openly carried on negotiations with the French Directory at Paris. Napoleon Bonaparte was thinking in terms of conquering the Empire of Britain in the East. Realising the gravity of the situation and the danger which threatened the Empire of Britain in India, Wellesley decided upon war with Tipu. As a precautionary measure, he made the Nizam to sign a subsidiary treaty with the Company in 1798. His attempts to bring the Marathas under such a treaty obligation failed. Calculating the help of the Nizam and hoping that the Marathas would remain neutral, Wellesley declared war on Tipu in 1799. Tipu was cornered from three directions. General Harris proceeded from Vellore, the Bombay forces under Stuart moved from Cannanore and the Nizam's contingent moved under the command of Arthur Wellesley (brother of Wellesley) The Bombay forces under Stuart forced Tipu to retreat from Coorg. The combined forces of Harris and Arthur Wellesley routed Tipu's forces at Malavalli. Tipu took shelter in the fort of Seringapatam and opened negotiations for peace. But as the terms offered by the British were humiliating, Tipu preferred death to disgrace. The siege of Seringapatam started and at the close of the siege it was stormed by General David Baird. Tipu the usurper's son died a soldier's death.

Results of the War

Tipu's dominions lay prostrate at the feet of Wellesley. The territories were divided between the Company and the Nizam. The Company annexed Canara, Wynaad, Coimbatore and Seringapatam. The Nizam got the districts of Anantapur, Chittor and Chitaldurg.

But the Nizam ceded these districts (ceded districts) to the British by a subsequent subsidiary treaty signed in 1800. The throne of Mysore which remained vacant from 1797, was again made warm by Wellesley by placing on the throne, Krishna Raj III, a member of the old ruling family. To assist the boy-King in State affairs, Purnaiya who had served under Tipu was allowed to continue as *Diwan*. The new Raja of Mysore entered into a subsidiary treaty with the Company.

Estimate of Tipu

Tipu, the Tiger, born in 1753 at Devanhalli near Bangalore was a typical despot of the 18th century. Unlike his father, he was a man of letters. He had profound knowledge on a variety of subjects. He was a fanatic in religious affairs and even outdistanced Aurangzeb Alamgir I, *Zinda Pir*, in religious fervour. He was a terror to the British and he hated them like anything. He took criminal pleasure in inflicting brutal punishments on the prisoners in general and the British in particular. It was a common saying in Mysore that "Haidar was born to create an Empire, Tipu to lose one". In spite of the blemishes in the character of Tipu, he was a typical product of the 18th century with all its shortcomings and pitfalls. Had Napoleon's invasion of India became a reality and had the native powers made common cause with Tipu against the British, then the course of history would have been entirely different. Instead of pouring sarcasms on Tipu, one and all would have hailed him as the hero of the day and would have eulogised him as the extirpator of the British. But fate destined otherwise. He lived like a tiger and died a solider's death.

10. THE FIRST ANGLO-SIKH WAR (1845-46)

The Sikhs had a meteoric rise under Ranjit Singh. But like the flash of the meteor, the Sikh power was also destined to vanish quickly. After Ranjit Singh's death, the Sikh power "exploded disappearing in fierce but fading flames". Ranjit Singh was succeeded by his imbecile son, Kharak Singh But he died in 1840. He was succeeded by Sher Singh, another son of Ranjit Singh, who was assassinated in 1843. Dilip Singh, the youngest son of Ranjit Singh,

who was then a minor, was placed on the throne with Rani Jhindan, his mother, as the regent. But real power was in the hands of the army Generals. The only course open to Rani Jhindan to remove the control of the Generals was to set them against the mighty British army. As the British contemplated an invasion of the Sikh territories, the Sikh Generals prepared themselves for the offensive.

Course of the War

The First Anglo-Sikh War broke out during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Hardinge. He declared all Sikh territories to the east of the Sutlej forfeit and incorporated them with the British dominions The first battle fought at Mudki proved to be indecisive. At the battle of Ferozeshahr, the Sikh army inflicted heavy casualities on the British. But in the thick of the battle, the Sikh General Tej Singh withdrew from the battle. His treachery helped the British cause. In the battle of Aliwal, the Sikh army was thoroughly defeated and was driven across the Sutlej. The decisive battle was fought at Sobraon. It proved to be one of the hardest fought battles in the history of the British in India. But the treachery of the Sikh Generals led to the final defeat of the Sikhs even though they fought "with the valour of the heroes, the enthusiasm of crusaders and the desperation of the zealots sworn to conquer the enemy or die sword in hand". Lord Hardinge along with the victorious British army occupied Lahore in 1846 and the war came to an end by the dictated treaty of Lahore.

Treaty of Lahore (1846)

The terms of the treaty dictated by Lord Hardinge were: (1) Dilip Singh was recognised as the ruler with Rani Jhindon as regent and Lal Singh as the Chief Minister. (2) A huge war indemnity of 15 lakhs of rupees was imposed on the Lahore *Durbar*. The amount was to be paid partly by cash and partly by the surrender of the territories between the Beas and the Indus including Kashmir and Hazara to the British (3) The Sikhs were required to cede to the Company all the territories to the left of the Sutlej along with the

Jallundur Doab, the fertile tract of land between the Sutlej and the Beas. (4) The strength of the Sikh army was reduced to 25 battalions, 12,000 cavalry and 36 guns. (5) The Lahore *Durbar* was to receive a permanent British Resident and Henry Lawrence was appointed the first Resident. Provision was also made for the stationing of a British contingent at Lahore.

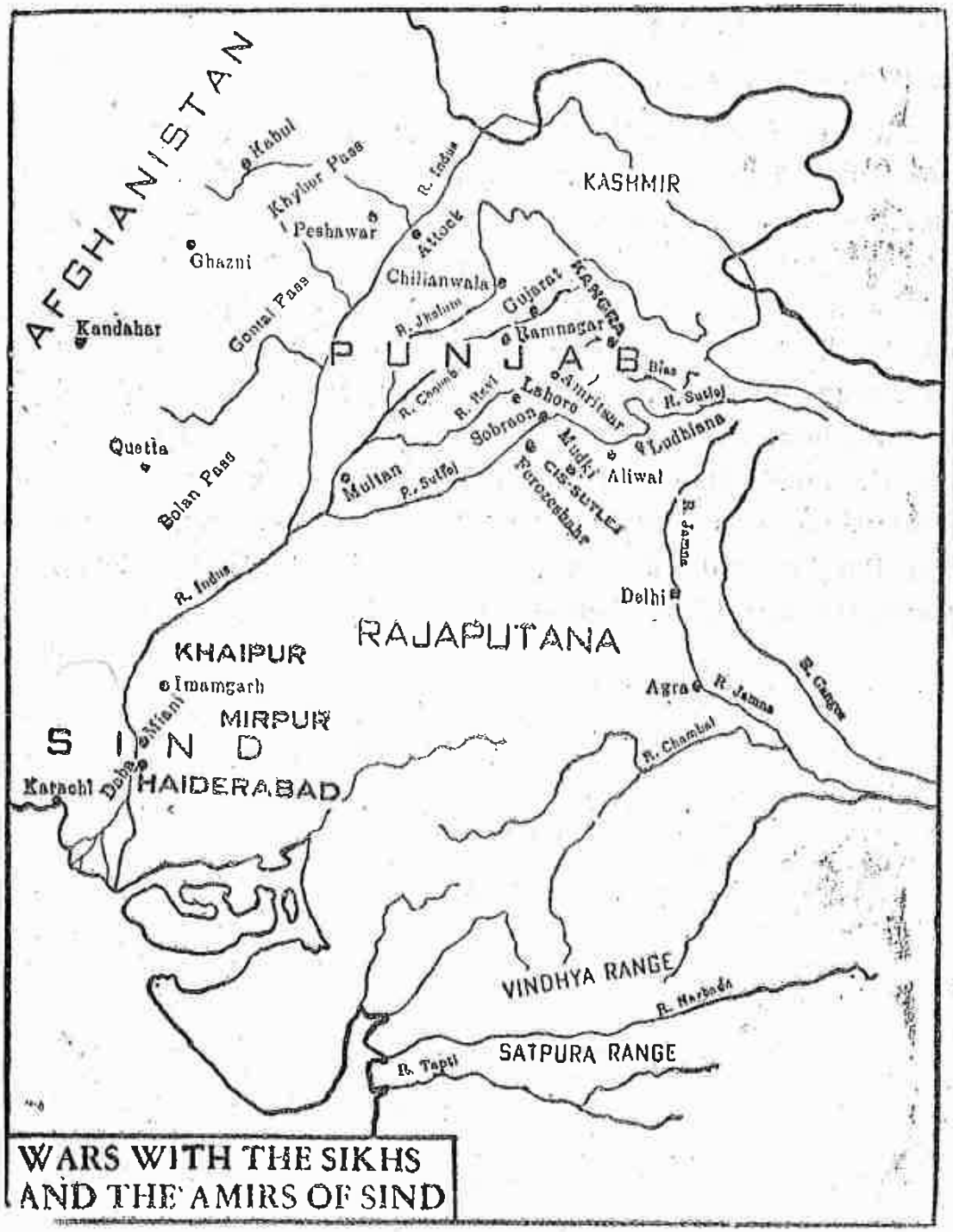
By a separate treaty with Ghulab Singh, a chieftain of Jammu, the British sold Kashmir to him. As Lal Singh instigated a rebellion against Ghulab Singh, the British dismissed him from the ministership. The treaty of Lahore was again revived. It set up a council of regency consisting of eight *Sikh Sardars* who were to carry out orders at the behest of the Resident. Thus the real administration of Lahore passed into the hands of the British.

11. THE SECOND ANGLO-SIKH WAR (1848-49)

The Second Anglo-Sikh War was fought during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie. The settlement effected by the treaty of Lahore lacked prospects of permanence. The Sikhs bitterly hated the domination of the British. The position in the country was explosive. It was only a question of time when it would erupt into a violent outburst. The people were prepared to rise against the English at the earliest opportunity. They were seething with discontent. The removal of Rani Jhindan from Lahore on a charge of conspiracy against the Resident added fuel to the already smouldering flame. The discontent of the people soon developed into a national rising under Mulraj, the Governor of Multan. He angrily laid down the office when he was asked to remit a huge amount in the State treasury. He was substituted by Khan Singh who came to take charge in the company of two young British officers. The two officers were murdered and Mulraj raised the standard of rebellion. His revolt soon developed into a national rising. The Sikh leaders sank their minor differences and rallied under the banner of Sher Singh, the Sikh Governor of the Hazara district. The Afghans under their ruler Dost Muhammad made common cause with the Sikhs in return for Peshawar. The inevitable outcome of these activities was the Second Anglo-Sikh War.

Course of the War

The first battle fought at Ramnagar between the Sikhs and Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces, proved to be an indecisive battle. The second one fought at Chilianwala



was one of the costliest wars fought by the British in India. The British suffered heavy losses and the battle was in favour of the Sikhs. This was followed by the successful storming of Multan by the British. Mulraj was court-martialled and sentenced to transportation

for life. The inability of Gough to handle the situation successfully led the Court of Directors to pass orders for his recall and his place was substituted by Sir Charles Napier. But before he could take up command, Gough inflicted a crushing defeat on the Sikhs at Gujarat, a town near Chenab.

Results of the War

Dalhousie annexed the Punjab by a proclamation issued in 1849. Dilip Singh was given a pension of 5 lakhs of rupees a year. The Koh-i-nur diamond was taken by the British. Dilip Singh along with his mother Rani Jhindan went to England. He embraced Christianity. After some time, he returned to the Punjab and went back to his old faith. His mother died in London. The administration of the Punjab was left to a board of 3 Commissioners with Sir Henry Lawrence as its President. In 1853, Dalhousie abolished the Board and in its place a Chief Commissioner was appointed in charge of the administration of the Punjab. John Lawrence, the brother of Henry Lawrence, became the first Chief Commissioner.

CHAPTER III
CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT UPTO 1857

Introduction

A regular growth in the constitutional history of India begins with the British rule. Barring the isolated 'Arthasastra' of Kautilya- a treatise on statecraft—there was no well-thought-out attempt either on the part of the Hindu or Muslim rulers to develop permanent institutions in the country. It was on the last day of December 1600, that Queen Elizabeth I issued a charter to a Company of merchants to carry on trade with India. The traders exploited the political unrest in the country and finally became the rulers. After the battle of Plassey, the British East India Company became the *de facto* sovereign of Bengal. After the battle of Buxar, the Company acquired the *Diwani* or the right to collect the revenues of Bengal, Bihar and a part of Orissa. It is with the Regulating Act of 1773 that the constitutional history of the British rule in India begins because it was that act which gave the Company a new constitution.

REGULATING ACT(1773)

Circumstances leading to the Passing of the Act

(1) The position of the Company

The battles of Plassey and Buxar enabled the Company to become a territorial power. Public opinion in England pressurised the British Parliament to take up the responsibility of the administration of India instead of entrusting so large a sovereignty to a commercial concern.

(2) Evils of the Double Government

The Double Government established by Robert Clive in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa led to a crop of troubles Though the Company became the *de facto* ruler of Bengal, Bihar and a part of Orissa, the real administration was left to the Nawab and his agents. They had responsibility but no authority. The confusion between the real and nominal authorities led to administrative chaos and confusion. The evils of the double system of government became

fully pronounced during the administration of Verelst and Cartier. Public opinion in Britain again turned the attention of parliament to intervene and set matters right.

(3) Corrupt administration by the Company

Ever since the acquisition of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and a part of Orissa, the Company indulged in corrupt practices. Anticipating a good yield of revenue, the Company raised the dividend of the shareholders from 6% to 10% and subsequently to 12½%. The share market went up. It soon became clear that the bullish tendency in the share market was only a bubble and the Company was fast nearing bankruptcy. The servants of the Campany accepted bribes and presents and freely indulged in private trade. The Company servants who started life from a scratch became upstarts in life. They became enormously rich by getting money from questionable sources. They were nicknamed 'English Nabobs'. The growth in the position and power of such people roused the jealousy of the British people.

(4) Success of Haidar and the Famine of 1770

The British prestige sank to a low level when Haidar Ali dictated peace terms to the Madras Government in 1769 after the First Anglo- Mysore War. The next year witnessed a terrible famine in Bengal which took a heavy toll of life. The two disasters drove home the idea that Parliament should intervene to revive its pretige and alleviate the grievances of the people in India.

(5) Financial bankruptcy of the Company

The financial difficulties drove the Company to apply for a loan to the British treasury. This raised a hue and cry in Britain. The result was that the affairs of the Company were thoroughly investigated by a select and a secret committee. The reports of the committees revealed the fact that the company's servants had received within a nine-year period (1757 to 1766) more than £21½ lakhs as presents. In addition to this, Clive was in possession of a *jagir*. Besides this, the Company had received more than £37½ lakhs as war indemnity. The reports disclosed the corruption prevailing in the Company's administration. This led to the passing of two

acts in 1773. The one granted the Company the much-needed loan and the second called the Regulating Act outlined a new constitution to the Company.

Provisions of the Regulating Act

(i) To ensure stability, continuity and freshness in the policy of the Directors, the term of the 24 Directors was extended from one year to four years, one-fourth retiring every year. (ii) The Governor of Bengal became the Governor-General of Bengal. Provision was made in the Act for a Council of 4 members to assist the Governor-General in the day-to-day administration of the Company. The names of the first Governor-General and the four Councillors—Warren Hastings, Clavering, Monson, Barwell and Francis—were mentioned in the Act. (iii) The Governor-General and the Councillors were to hold office for 5 years and future appointments to the offices were to be made by the Company. (iv) The decision of the majority of the members of the Governor-General-in-Council was binding. (v) The Governor-General was given a casting vote in case of a tie. The Governor-General-in-council was given power to superintend and control the subordinate presidencies in all their activities with native States. (vi) The Court of Directors was required to lay before the Treasury all correspondence dealing with the revenue and before the Secretary of State, everything relating to the civil and military affairs of the company. (vii) A Supreme Court of Judicature with one Chief Justice (Sir Elijah Impey) and three judges was set up at Fort William in Bengal.

Criticism of the Act

The Regulating Act possessed certain inherent defects. According to Roberts, the Regulating Act was "a half-measure and disastrously vague in many points". According to Dodeswell it was "a medley of inconsistencies dictated by tyranny, yet bearing throughout each line the mark of ignorance". The following were some of the shortcomings of the Regulating Act. (i) The Act failed to mention as to who was the real sovereign in the country. The Act neither recognised the Sovereignty of the Mughal Emperor nor the Nawab of Bengal over the territories then possessed by the company

nor asserted the sovereignty of either the Crown or the Company on them. (ii) The Act did not confer any power on the Governor-General to overrule the decision of the majority. The Governor-General was reduced to the position of a cipher. He was often outvoted by the factious majority in the Council. Further, the three Councillors who had no previous knowledge and experience of the Indian conditions were quite unsuited for the job. (iii) The extent of the authority of the Governor-General-in-council over the subordinate provinces of Bombay and Madras was not made clear. In cases of emergency, the subordinate provinces were given powers to act on the spur of the moment without obtaining previous sanction from the Calcutta government. It was under the excuse of emergency that the Madras government started hostilities with Haidar Ali and the Bombay government with the Marathas and on both occasions the did not get the prior consent of the Calcutta government. (iv) The field of jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and the law it had to administer were not clearly defined. The relationship existing between the Supreme Court and the Council and the sphere of action of both were not clearly defined. The obscure and indefinite provisions in the act brought about a serious deadlock between the Supreme Court and the Supreme Council at Calcutta.

Thus the Regulating Act contained many glaring defects. The Cambridge History of India points out that the act "had neither given the State a definite control over the Company, nor the Directors a definite control over their servants, nor the Governor-General a definite control over his Council, nor the Calcutta Presidency a definite control over Madras and Bombay". According to Pouten Rouse: "the object of the Act was good, but the system that it established was imperfect". In spite of all these defects, the Regulating Act was a landmark in the constitutional history of India because it was the first of a long series of acts that finally culminated in the transference of power from the Company to the Crown in 1858.

How were the defects in the Regulating Act rectified ?

Many of the defects of the Regulating Act were rectified before 1786. The anomalous position created as a result of the conflict of jurisdiction between the Supreme Court and the Supreme Council was removed by the Amending Act of 1781. The baffled question was decided in favour of the Council against the Court on all counts. Another serious defect of the act was that Parliament did not establish adequate control over the Company. But the Pitt's India Act of 1784 removed this defect by constituting a Board of six Commissioners to superintend, direct and control all the activities of the British Government in India. Hitherto, the Calcutta Presidency exercised a loose control over the subordinate presidencies. But by the Pitt's India Act of 1784, they were definitely brought under the control of the Calcutta Government. Warren Hastings who was often outvoted by the factious majority of inexperienced people was another defect of the Act. Provision was made in the Pitt's India Act that only civil servants of the Company should be appointed to the Council. Another defect closely connected with this was that the Governor-General had no veto power. Lord Cornwallis when offered the Governor-Generalship refused to accept it unless he was empowered to override the majority of the Council in special cases. This power was granted to him by an act passed by the British Parliament in 1786.

PITT'S INDIA ACT (1784)

Provisions of the Act

(i) The act constituted a Board of Control or a Board of six Commissioners to superintend, direct and control all the activities of the British Government in India. The Court of Directors was required to supply with copies of all despatches sent and received by them to the Board of Control. The Board was also empowered to send secret instructions to a secret committee of three Directors who were required to transmit them to India without divulging the same to the other Directors. (ii) The number in the Governor-General's Council was reduced from 4 to 3 members of whom one was to be the Commander-in-Chief of the Company's forces in India. (iii) The

subordinate Presidencies were now definitely brought under the control of the Calcutta Government. (iv) A general provision laid down in the Act pointed out that "to pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominions in India were measures repugnant to the wish, honour and policy of this nation". The Pitt's India Act marks another milestone in the constitutional history of India. While the Regulating Act regulated the affairs of the Company, the Pitt's India Act placed the Company and its affairs in the hands of the Parliament by establishing the Board of Control.

The Act of 1786

The act empowered the Governor-General to overrule the majority of his Council in special cases.

The Charter Act of 1793

The monopoly of the Company to carry on trade in the East for a period of 20 years expired in 1793. It was renewed by the Charter Act of 1793 and that granted the Company the monopoly of trade in the East for another 20 years. The Act did not bring out any major changes in the constitution of the Company. It was "essentially a consolidating measure". It re-enacted many of the provisions of the previous acts with details.

The Charter Act of 1813

The monopoly of trade granted to the Company for a period of 20 years expired in 1813. It was renewed by the Charter Act of 1813 for a further period of 20 years. The Company so far enjoyed the monopoly of trade in the East. But by the Charter Act of 1813, trade with India was thrown open to all British subjects. But the trade in tea and the trade with China were however reserved to the Company. The Act made provision to set apart a lake of rupees evers year for the "revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of the learned natives of India and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of British territories in India". The Act required the Company to appoint one Bishop at Calcutta with three Archdeacons under him. The Act marks the beginning of a regular Church

Establishment in India. With regard to the control over the Company, no change was effected.

The Charter Act of 1833

The Charter Act of 1833 brought about some notable changes in the constitution of the Company. The commercial and political privileges which the Company so far enjoyed expired in 1833. It was renewed in 1833 with some alterations. The Indian territories acquired by the Company and their revenues were granted to the Company for another 20 years to be administered "in trust for His Majesty, his heirs and successors". But the Company was deprived of its Commercial concessions. The Governor-General of Bengal became the Governor-General of India. The Governor-General-in-Council was for the first time empowered to make laws und regulations affecting the natives as well as the British in India. The strength of the Governor-General's Council was increased from 3 to 4 and the 4th member was to be a law member. The law member participated in the meetings of the Governor-General-in-Council in legislative and executive capacity. He was allowed to vote in the former case and not in the latter. In these provisions may be discerned "the faint beginnings of a legislative Council as distinct from the executive council". The law member was expected to make laws and regulations on behalf of the Council and to codify the Indian laws "with due regard to the rights, feelings and peculiar usages of the people". The Presidencies of Madras and Bombay were made subordinate to the Calcutta Presidency in matters of legislation and revenue. The most noteworthy clause in the Act was section 87 of the Act which declares that "no native of India or any natural-born subject of His Majesty should be disabled from holding any office or employment by reason of religion, place of birth, descent or colour". The Charter Act of 1833 was the best and the most important piece of legislation framed by the British Parliament for India in the 19th century.

The Charter Act of 1853

The Charter of the Company was renewed in 1853. But the period for the run of the Charter was not stipulated in the Act. It simply stated that the Company would be in possession of the Indian

territories and their revenues "until Parliament should otherwise direct". The Act reduced the number of Directors from 24 to 18 out of which 6 should be appointed by the Crown. The Court of Directors was deprived of the power of patronage. The Act laid down that future appointments to the Civil Service should be made by conducting competitive examinations. The administration of Bengal was put under a Lieutenant-Governor. The Court of Directors was empowered to create more Presidencies due to the incorporation of fresh territories. The Punjab was constituted in to a Lieutenant-Governorship in 1859. The growth of the Legislative Council as distinct from the Executive Council could be clearly noted in this act. The law member was now given the right to vote in the meetings of the Executive Council. The number of members in the Legislative Council was raised from 4 to 12. The twelve members were the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, the four members of the Executive Council and 6 legislative members. Out of the six legislative members, 4 members came one each from the provinces of Madras, Bengal, Bombay and North-West Provinces. The other two members were the Chief Justice of Bengal and a Judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta. The Governor-General was empowered to veto the law passed by the Legislative Council. The Act authorised the Crown to appoint a Law Commission in England. The Indian Penal Code and the Civil and Criminal Procedure Codes were enacted into law by the work of the Law Commission. By a subsequent enactment of the Parliament in 1854, provision was made for the appointment of Chief Commissioners to administer minor provinces in India.

CHAPTER IV

SEPOY MUTINY (1857)

Nature of the Mutiny

Diametrically opposite views are held with regard to the outbreak of 1857. But the different views when analysed boil down to two distinct views—the one a National rising and the other a Mutiny of the sepoys. According to James Outram, the Mutiny was the result of a premeditated conspiracy and he considered it "A War of Independence". V. D. Savarkar also subscribes to the same view. He considers the rising as the Indian War of Independence. According to Sir Henry Lawrence, the Mutiny was a military rising. When facts and events are clearly analysed, the scales seem to be heavily tilted in favour of the view put forward by Lawrence. The outbreak of 1857 could in no way be considered as the First National War of Independence "It was neither first nor National, nor a War of Independence". It was out-and-out a military rising. Many discontented and disaffected princes and vested interests took advantage of the rising to feather their own nests. Nana Saheb, the adopted son of Baji Rao II, joined the Mutiny because the Company stopped the pension that had been given to the ex-Peshwa. The Rani of Jhansi threw in her lot with the mutineers because the Company disallowed the claims of her adopted son to the throne. It was selfish and not altruistic motives that drove them to join the Mutiny. Many of the ruling chiefs did not participate. They remained loyal and faithful to the British Government. Had it been a National rising, then it would have spread throughout the length and breadth of the country and one and all would have willingly participated in it. But the Mutiny was restricted to certain areas and that too was organised by the sepoys. In certain areas, the Mutiny drifted to a revolt of the people. But in most of the cases, it was not national in character. They were dragged into it by evil motives. The opportunity was utilised by the people to plunder, rekindle communal animosities and outrage the modesty of women. Majority of the people remained indifferent. The educated classes kept aloof.

A War of Independence is a struggle carried on by anybody or any group to liberate a country from foreign yoke. If the meaning of 'War of Independence' is interpreted in this way, then the wars carried on by Tipu and the Marathas should also be called Wars of Independence. The ultimate end of Tipu and the Marathas was to drive out the English from India. So instead of calling the wars fought by Tipu or the Marathas as the Mysore Wars and the Maratha Wars, they should have been called Mysore Wars of Independence and Maratha Wars of Independence. If the outbreak of 1857 is numbered as *First* War of Independence, then the previous mutinies should also be numbered. The Vellore Mutiny of 1806 and the Barrackpore Mutiny of 1824 though not of greater magnitudes, were also mutinies. Had anyone of the mutinies succeeded, then it would have been elevated to the rank of a War of Independence. But unfortunately all the mutinies, irrespective of their magnitude, were suppressed. So there is no meaning in calling the rising of 1857 as the First War of Independence.

Causes of the Mutiny

Political

It was not an isolated fact alone that led to the outbreak of 1857. The storm was simmering and at the opportune moment the pent up feelings of all the discontented and disaffected persons diverted the storm to take a violent turn. The rapid expansion of British rule in India was viewed with great concern by different sections of the people. The old order yielding place to new created dismay and discontent among the people. Many a native State fell a victim to the aggressive activities of the British. The British Government unjustly annexed many States like Sind, the Punjab and Oudh. Legally and morally, the annexation of Oudh was unjustifiable because Oudh had been a faithful ally of the Company for more than half a century. It wounded the sentiments of the Muslims and produced a profound shock in the minds of the princes of other States. The Company refused to give the pension to Nana Saheb, the adopted son of the ex-Peshwa Baji Rao II. It wounded the sentiments of some Hindus. Satara, Jhanis

and Nagpur were annexed by applying the policy of Doctrine of Lapse. The sweeping annexations of Dalhousie spread discontent and disaffection throughout the lengh and breadth of the country.

The new administrative set up of the British with their own systems and laws were quite unintelligible to the people. Almost all the Governors-General adopted a policy of systematically excluding the Indians from high posts. It wounded the tender feelings of the people who once adorned the highest places before the establishment of British power. To make confusion more confounded, English was introduced as court language in the place of Persian.

Social

Many social disabilities were imposed on the people. With the growth in the power of the Company, the British assumed an air of superiority and dissociated themselves from the Indians and insulted them whenever they got the opportunity. The British occupied an exalted place in society and the Indians were pushed to the background as a depressed class.

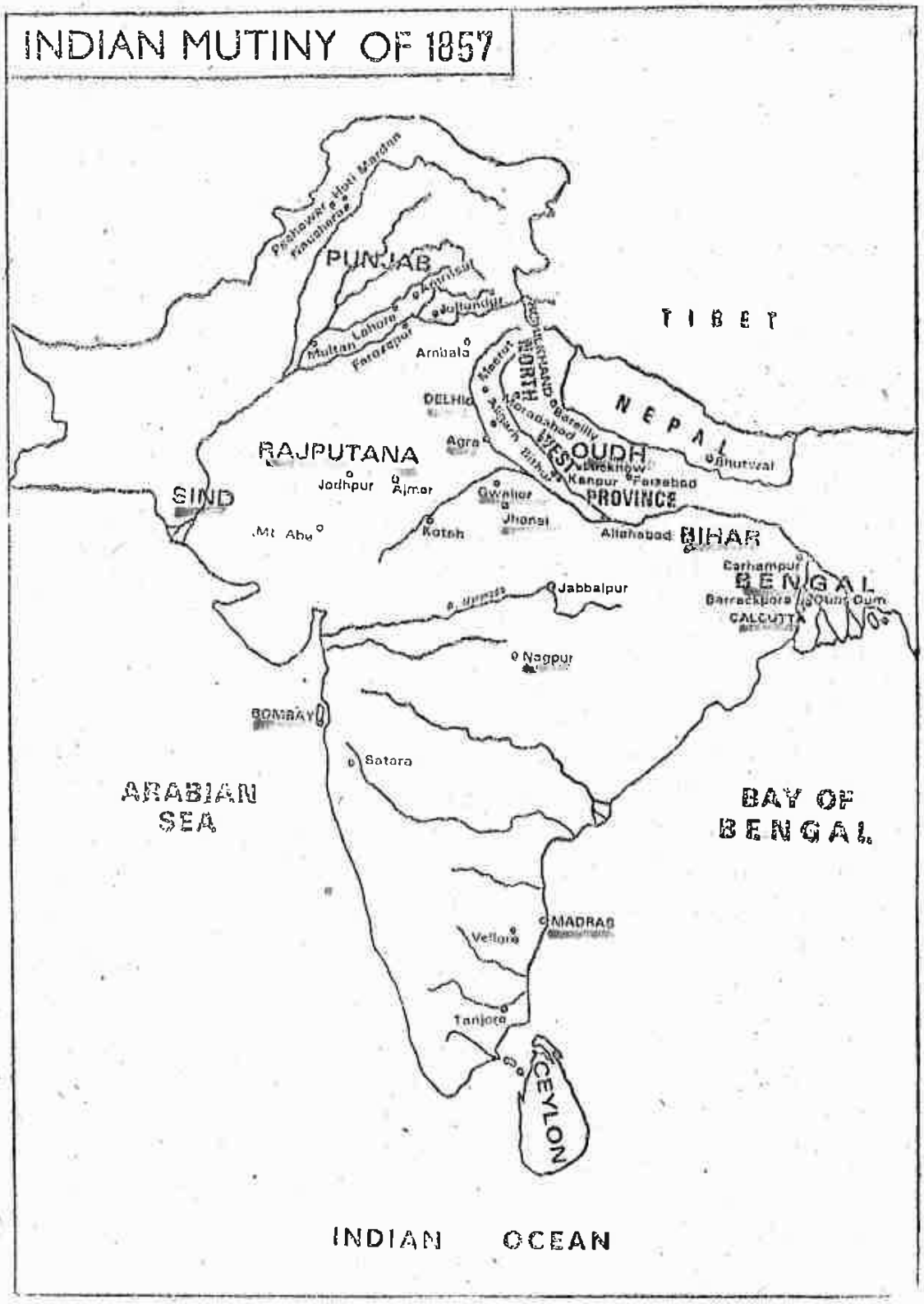
Economic

Many economic disabilities were also imposed on the people. No class was spared. The economic interest of the people was subordinated to that of the British. In their attempt to convert India into a market for British goods, the British Government sapped India's manufacturing industries and gradually transformed India into an agricultural hinterland of Great Britain. With the liquidation of the Princely States, cottage industries decayed. British goods flooded the Indian market and crippled the domestic industries. Many people were thrown out of employment. Agriculture remained a depressed industry. The British Government alienated the sympathies of the Zamindars by showing its preference to the ryotwari system. The condition of the peasants was far from satisfactory. On the whole, the people were economically discontented. India continued to remain a land of poverty in the midst of plenty.

Religious

The zeal with which the Christian missionaries carried on their proselytizing activities created a sense of alarm and frustration in the

minds of the people. New measures like the abolition of *Sati* and female infanticide, extension of western education and the Widows'



Remarriage Act greatly perturbed the conservative section of the people. All these measures were understood and interpreted by them

as attempts on the part of the British to convert India into a Christian land.

Military

The spark which set ablaze the Mutiny was the "greased cartridges" affair. The religious sentiments of both the Hindus and the Muslims were stung to the quick when they came to know of the fact that they were expected to bite the end of the cartridge of the new Enfield rifle which was greased with the fat of cows and pigs. The wildest rumours spread like a contagious disease among the sepoys. The withdrawal of the 'biting' order and the assurance given to the sepoys that greased catridges would not be used, proved of no avail. The sepoys had also other grievances. In spite of the numerical strength of the Indian sepoys to that of the British, conditions of service and prospects of promotion were bleak to the former. The Vellore Mutiny of 1806 and the Barrackpore Mutiny of 1824 broke out owing to the infringement of the religious sentiments of the sepoys. The General Service Enlistment Act (1856) of Canning enjoined every recruit in the army to serve not only in India but also in foreign countries. This new regulation created a sense of frustration in the minds of the sepoys because according to Indian sentiment, to cross the sea is to lose one's caste.

The Course of the Mutiny

Barrackpore

The first shot of the Mutiny was fired at Barrackpore. Mangal Pandey, a Brahmin sepoy of the Barrackpore cantonment, rose into rebellion single-handed and shot down the Sergeant-Major. Mangal Pandey and the jamadar who refused to arrest him were tried and hanged. The Barrackpore incident spread like a wildfire. In Meerut, 85 out of 90 troopers of the native cavalry refused to touch the cartridges. They were court-martialled and sentenced to 10 years' rigorous imprisonment. In the presence of other soldiers, the eightyfive soldiers were stripped off their uniforms. After putting them to much disgrace and dishonour, they were marched

off to their cells. The very next day three regiments rose into open revolt, murdered their officers and released the imprisoned soldiers and other convicts. They killed the Europeans, their women and children and burnt down their residencies. After perpetrating such atrocities, they galloped off to Delhi. They reached Delhi, murdered the Europeans and captured Delhi. They proclaimed Bahadur Shah II as Emperor. The mutineers rushed to Lahore. A timely information was given by a telegraph operator to Lahore. After putting up a desperate resistance, the authorities at Lahore blew up the storehouse where ammunitions were kept so that it might not be taken by the mutineers.

Mutiny spreads

The proclamation of Bahadur Shah II as Emperor of Hindustan created great sensation throughout India. News travelled fast. The Mutiny spread to Aligarh, Naushera and Hoti Mardan. But they were easily suppressed. But mutinies of a more serious nature spread to Oudh and North-Western Provinces and parts of Central India. Bareilly, the capital of Rohilkhand, witnessed the worst scenes of savagery which came in the wake of the Mutiny. Khan Bahadur Khan, the grandson of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, assumed the leadership and proclaimed himself Nawab. In Oudh, the brains behind the move were Hazrat Mahal, the Begum of Oudh and *Maulavi* Ahmadulla. In Bihar, the mutineers rallied behind Kunwar Singh, a Zamindar.

The Kanpur tragedy

While the mutineers were active, Nana Saheb, the adopted son of the ex-Peshwa Baji Rao II and his followers Tantia Topi and Azimullah-Khan inspired and instigated them. Nana Saheb proclaimed himself Peshwa at Bithur and near Kanpur. The Kanpur station was attacked by the mutineers. Nana Saheb was the force behind the move. After a heroic resistance for 20 days, Hugh Wheeler, the commander surrendered. The inmates of the station numbered 900 including 400 English sepoys, 376 women and children and the rest Indians. Nana Saheb gave assurances for their safe conduct to

Allahabad. But the promise was broken and all were murdered except four who fled with their lives to narrate the woeful story.

Restoration of order

The recapture of Delhi, the nerve-centre of the activities of the mutineers, attracted the immediate attention of the British Government. Bakht Khan, the commander of the sepoys, fought some desperate battles with the British. Delhi was recaptured by the British after hazardous fights. Bahadur Shah II was taken captive. Three of his sons and a grandson were shot dead by Hodson on the assumption that they murdered a number of Europeans. Bahadur Shah II was sentenced to life imprisonment and deported to Rangoon. The fall of Delhi was followed by the defeat of Tantia Topi in Kanpur. After his defeat, he shifted his centre of gravity to Central India. The mutinies in Oudh with its chief centre of activity in Lucknow were put down. *Maulavi* Ahmadulla was murdered and the Begum gave up her leadership. The Mutiny in Rohilkhand was also put down. Khan Bahadur Khan became a prisoner.

The Mutiny in Central India was guided by Tantia Topi. He became the leader of the rebel forces of the Sindhia of Gwalior and joined his forces with those of Nana Saheb and routed a British army. But Tantia Topi met with defeat in another encounter. When Jhansi was captured, Tantia Topi went to the help of Rani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi. The two captured Gwalior and the Sindhia fled to Agra. Nana Saheb was proclaimed Peshwa. Realising the gravity of the situation and the possibility of a Maratha rising, quick measures were taken to nip their activities in the bud. Tantia Topi and the Rani of Jhansi were defeated in the battles of Morar and Kotah. The Rani fought valiantly. She died in one of the battle-fields. In the words of Asokh Mehta, the Rani was, "the embodiment of the rebellion, its inspirer and architect. Her name has passed into legend, history and songs of our people". Tantia Topi was hunted from pillar to post. He was captured and hanged on charges of rebellion and murder. Nana Saheb fled to Nepal. The end of Nana Saheb still remains a mystery. The Begum of Oudh

took asylum in Nepal. Azimulla-Khan died in Bhutwal in October, 1859.

Causes of the failure

The mutineers worked without a common plan. There was no common leadership and organisation to guide the activities of the mutineers. Further, the rebellions did not break out simultaneously. So the British found it easy to quell one rebellion after another. Nana Saheb, Bahadur Shah II, Tantia Topi, the Rani of Jhansi and Kunwar Singh were the supposed leaders of the rebellion. Nana was no great general. Bahadur Shah II was wavering. Tantia Topi, the Rani of Jhansi and Kunwar Singh were the only leaders worth the name. But their sphere of activity was very limited. It was the lack of leadership that spoiled the game. The people with the exception of some opportunists and ***goondas*** did not participate in the rebellion. In military skill and discipline, the British were far superior to the mutineers. In spite of the numerical strength of the sepoys, the British won signal victories over them. "Science ultimately triumphed over number and brawn yielded to brain". The rulers of Gwalior, Hyderabad and Nepal remained loyal to the British. The Afghans also remained faithful. Lord Canning is reported to have remarked that "If Sindhia joins the rebels, I will pack off tomorrow". The mutiny did not spread to the Punjab, Bombay and places south of the Narbada. The mutiny failed because there was no common ideal to inspire the leaders and the mutineers. Selfish motives superseded altruistic motives.

Results of the Mutiny

1. The Act for the Better Government of India (1858)

The mutiny led to the passing of the Act for the Better Government of India in 1858. The Act of 1858 sounded the deathknell of the Company's administration in India. Power was transferred from the Company to the Crown. The Act abolished the Board of Control and the Court of Directors. The powers wielded by both bodies were transferred to the Secretary of State for India. He was to be assisted by a Council of 15 members.

Seven members of the Council were to be elected by the existing Court of Directors and the rest to be appointed by the Crown. The Secretary of State-in-Council was given wide and extensive powers to direct and control the administration of India. The Secretary of State was empowered to overrule the decision of his Council in some cases. In urgent cases, he was empowered to issue orders without consulting the council. In declaration of war and conclusion of peace, the Secretary of State was not to make any reference to the Council. But on important matters like revenue, he was bound by the decision of the Council. The future appointments of the Governor-General and Governors of the Presidencies were to be made by the Crown, and the members of their Councils by the Secretary of State-in-Council. The armed forces of the Company were transferred to the Crown.

2. Queen's Proclamation (1858)

The assumption of the administration of India by the Crown was made known to the people by Queen Victoria's proclamation issued on 1st. Nov. 1858. The Queen's Proclamation confirmed all the appointments made by the Company in civil and military establishments and respected the treaties contracted by the Company with native powers. The proclamation laid down in categorical terms that it was not the policy of the British Crown for further extension of territories in India. Observance of neutrality in religious matters and impartiality in appointments to public offices without any distinction of caste or creed was clearly emphasised in the Proclamation. A general amnesty was given to all who participated in the Mutiny except those who murdered the British subjects.

3. Change in the army Organisation

The army organisation was thoroughly reorganised. The proportion of British sepoys to Indian sepoys was increased. The operation of artillery was entirely left to the Europeans.

CHAPTER V

INDIA UNDER THE CROWN

1. THE VICEROYS

LORD CANNING (1858-62)

Canning became the first Viceroy of India. (Practically there was no difference in the position of the Governor-General and the Viceroy. The Governor-General as the representative of the Crown got the title of the Viceroy. But the Viceroys were more familiarly known as Governors-General). A hue and cry was raised in both India and Britain to follow a ruthless policy of vengeance against the mutineers. But Canning administered moderation and followed a pacifying policy and thus earned the title "Clemency Canning". The Mutiny considerably affected the Indian Exchequer. By effecting economies in civil and military expenditure and introducing a fresh tax (income-tax), Canning was able to tide over the financial difficulty. The Indian Councils Act was passed in 1861. (Refer Chapter VII). He abolished the Supreme Court and *Sadr* Courts and in their place a High Court was set up in each Presidency (Calcutta, Madras and Bombay).

LORD ELGIN I (1862-63)

During his term of office, Elgin I sent an expedition against the Wahabis, a financial sect of Muslims inhabiting the North-West Frontier. Elgin I died in 1863. The Wahabis were brought to their senses only by Sir William T. Denison, the officiating Viceroy.

LORD LAWRENCE (1864-69)

John Lawrence had previous experience in India as a member of the Board of 3 set up for the administration of the Punjab by Dalhousie in 1849. In 1853, he was made the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab. During the Mutiny, he took effective steps to prevent the spread of the Mutiny in the Punjab. In 1859, he became Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. In 1864, he was appointed Viceroy of India. He followed the policy of "masterly inactivity" in his relations with Afghanistan. He waged a war with Bhutan. In spite

of the initial reverses, the Bhutanese forces were defeated and a treaty was signed in 1865. According to the terms of the treaty, Bhutan got a subsidy in return for the surrender of the Duras which had been ceded to the Bhutanese by an earlier treaty. Two famines occurred during his administration. The first famine (1866-67) affected Orissa and the second famine (1868-69) Bundelkhand and Rajputana. Though ameliorative measures were undertaken, they were highly inadequate in the case of the first and satisfactory in the case of the second. A land settlement of the Central Provinces was effected by Sir Richard Temple during the administration of Lawrence.

LORD MAYO (1869-72)

Lord Mayo continued the policy of "masterly inactivity" of Lawrence in his relations with Afghanistan. Effective measures were undertaken to wipe out the deficit. The salt duties were increased and the income-tax was raised. He set up a new department of agriculture and started a college at Ajmer (Mayo College). The first general census was taken during his Viceroyalty. In 1870, Mayo inaugurated the scheme of decentralisation of finance. By this scheme, grants were alloted to the provinces and certain departments were put under their control. Mayo was assassinated by a fanatical Pathan at Port Blair in Andamans in 1872.

LORD NORTH BROOK (1872-76)

Lord Northbrook continued the policy of "masterly inactivity" —non-intervention— in his relations with Afghanistan. He deposed Malhar Rao Gaikwar II on grounds of misgovernment and misconduct. His adopted son (Sayaji Rao III— 1875-1939) was made the new Gaikwar with Sir T. Madhava Rao as the *Diwan*. Lord Northbrook reduced the import duties and abolished the export duties except those on oil, rice, indigo and lac. He abolished the income-tax. A famine broke out throughout the whole of Bihar and parts Bengal in 1873-74. Relief measures of a costly nature were undertaken by him to reduce the rigours of the famine. When pressed by the Home Government to revive the forward policy towards Afghanistan, he resigned.

LORD LYTTON (1876-80)

The Chief event during the administration of Lord Lytton was the Second Anglo-Afghan War (Refer this Chapter). A worst famine (1876-78) ravaged Madras, Bombay, Hyderabad, Mysore, parts of Central India and the Punjab. Cholera and famine joined hand in hand, which famished and took a heavy toll of life. The first Famine Commission was set up to enquire into the causes of famines and suggest remedial measures for future guidance. Lytton introduced some financial reforms. He equalised the salt duties in all the States. He abolished many vaxatious import duties (29) which stood in the wav of free trade. It was Lord Mayo who took the first step in financial decentralisation. It was further extended and developed by Lytton. In 1878, he passed the vernacular Press Act bv which he empowered the Magistrates to vigorously censor the press. In 1879, the Statutory Civil Service Act was passed which empowered the Viceroy to nominate not more than one-sixth of the Covenanted Civil Servants appointed in any year by the Secretary of State from the Indians. By the Royal Title Act of 1876, Lytton proclaimed Queen Victoria 'Empress of India' on the first day of 1877 in Delhi when a terrible famine was raging in all its fury in Southern India.

LORD RIPON (1880-84)

Lord Ripon Succeeded Lord Lytton as Viceroy in 1880. In his political outlook and reforms, Ripon resembled Bentinck in many respects. He was a true liberal with firm faith in peace, ***laissez-faire*** and self-government. The educated Indians cherished in their heart of hearts an earnest desire to serve their country in responsible capacities. Feeling the pulse of the elite, he sympathised with the natural and legitimate aspirations of the Indians, His reforms aimed at saddling the Indians with responsibility. He prepared the ground for training them in the art of self-government. He made his mark in history as the author of some beneficial and humanitarian reforms.

Afghan Problem

It was the Afghan question which immediately invited the

attention of Ripon. Lytton blundered badly in Afghanistan because he revived the 'forward policy' of Auckland in utter disregard of the policy of "masterly inactivity" of Lawrence. Ripon amicably settled the Afghan issue. He recognised Abdur Rahman as the Amir on condition that he should not enter into any treaty with other powers save the British. The controversial clause dealing with the opening up of a British Residency in Afghanistan, which was insisted on the eve of the Second Anglo-Afghan war, was dropped.

Tariff and Revenue reforms

Ripon was a true believer in free-trade. As the State Exchequer was overflowing, he found the time opportune to abolish or reduce some of the vexatious duties and taxes. He abolished almost all import duties. The salt-tax was reduced. A permanent land revenue settlement was abandoned.

Decentralisation of administration

Decentralisation of administrative and financial control took rapid strides during the administration of Ripon. Upto 1850, local self-government prevailed in the Presidency towns and in 1870 during the Viceroyalty of Mayo a scheme of decentralisation of finance was inaugurated. Ripon issued the famous resolution on local self-government in 1882. It authorised the provincial government to set up district and taluk boards, charged with certain duties and entrusted with appropriate funds. The scheme provided great scope for the development of rural self-government. The resolution clearly laid down that there should be a non-official preponderance in all these boards and made provision for the election of members wherever it might be thought feasible. Under the new scheme, the local boards got control over the administration of roads, education, sanitation, *etc.* The powers of the Municipalities were increased and they looked after sanitation, water supply, primary education, *etc.* Provision was made for the election of the chairman. All these reforms were intended for the "extension of local self-government primarily as an instrument of political and popular education". Ripon is rightly called "the father of local self-government."

Freedom of the Press, Census

Ripon repealed Lytton's Vernacular Press Act and thus gave freedom to the vernacular newspapers to express their opinions concerning political, social and economic problems. The first census was taken in a haphazard manner during the Viceroyalty of Mayo. The first systematic census was undertaken during the Viceroyalty of Ripon in 1881.

Educational and Social reforms

A commission of 20 members under W. W. Hunter was appointed in 1882 to enquire into the state of education. Regulations were laid down for increasing the number and improving the quality of primary and secondary schools. Secondary schools run by private managements were to be encouraged by grants-in-aid. Provision was made for the setting up of a model school by the Government in every district. A humble beginning was made to improve the working condition of labourers. The Act of 1881 restricted the hours of employment of children between 7 and 12 years of age to 9 hours a day. The act further laid down that dangerous machinery should be properly fenced.

Rendition of Mysore

On grounds of misgovernment, Lord William Bentinck took over the administration of Mysore in 1831. From that time onwards, the throne of Mysore remained vacant. It was during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon that the rendition of Mysore took place. The adopted son of the deposed Raja was enthroned in 1881.

Ilbert Bill

The Criminal Procedure Code of 1873 laid down that except in the Presidency towns, no Magistrate or Sessions Judge could try a British European subject unless he himself happened to be an European by birth. Lord Ripon wanted to remove this unjust racial discrimination. A bill to that effect was prepared by C. P. Ilbert, the law member. The bill evoked a storm of protest from the European community. Lord Ripon was subjected to scathing criticism under the hands of the Europeans and they boycotted social functions in which he was present. The bill intensified the

racial animosity between the Europeans and the Indians. In the midst of the mounting opposition of the European community, Ripon had no other alternative but to modify the bill in such a way as not to offend the feelings of the European community. A compromise was effected by which the Europeans could claim trail by jury in which half of the jurors were to be Europeans or Americans.

Estimate

Lord Ripon was undoubtedly the greatest Viceroy when viewed from the Indian angle. The reforms of Lord Ripon were set in the direction of giving representation to the Indians, in the government of the country in the district, taluk and panchayat levels. He tried to efface the unjust race distinctions that existed between the Europeans and the Indians. In the words of Roberts: "If Lord Ripon had forfeited popularity among his countrymen, he had at any rate won, by his championship of their cause, the enthusiastic devotion and support of men of Indian birth. On his resignation in 1884, the route of his journey to Bombay was lined with acclaiming and admiring crowds, and his name has eversince been enshrined in the hearts of the nationalist party in India as the great champion of their cause on the Viceregal throne."

LORD DUFFERIN (1884-88)

Lord Dufferin amicably settled the Russo-Afghan frontier. It was during his Viceroyalty that the Indian National Congress was founded. He passed three Tenancy Acts which secured greater security of tenure to the peasants of Bengal, Oudh and the Punjab. He handed over the fort of Gwalior to the Sindhia in 1886. The Third Burmese War (1885) was fought during his Viceroyalty (Refer this Chater).

LORD LANSDOWNE (1888-94)

Lord Lansdowne amicably settled the Afghano-Indian border question. The Durand Line separated the territory of the two. Most of the territory lying between Afghanistan and the Punjab, called the tribal territory, came under the rule of the British. The administration of Kashmir was taken over by the Indian Govern-

ment in 1889. It was, however, restored to its ruler in 1905. The Commander-in-Chief of the kingdom of Manipur murdered four European officers. He and his associates were caught and hanged. A minor King was placed on the throne in 1891 and the real administration of the country passed into the hands of the British. When the boy-King came of age, he assumed the reins of government in 1907. The Factory Act of 1891 limited the hours of employment of women to 11 hours per day. The minimum age of children to be employed in factories was raised from 7 to 9 and the hours of work were reduced to 7 hours. A weekly holiday was given to all workers in factories. The Age of Consent Act 1891, applicable to girls, raised the age of consent from 10 to 12 years. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 was passed during the Viceroyalty of Lansdowne (Refer Chapter VII).

ELGIN II (1894-99)

Serious disturbances broke out in Chitral, in the tribal territory, which was newly acquired by the British. The ruling chief of Chitral was assassinated and an attempt was made to expel the British political agent. The Indian Government send an army. The tribal revolt took a violent turn. But it was, however, suppressed. Elgin also crushed a rebellion of the Maplahs of Malabar in 1896. The post of the Commander-in-Chief of Bombay and Madras was abolished. All the armies came under a single Commander-in-Chief of India. Under him was placed the forces of the four Lieutenant Generals of the four provinces of Bengal, Bombay, Madras and North-West Provinces cum Punjab. An Opium Commission was appointed in 1893 to enquire and report on the effects of the use of opium on the health and morale of the people. The Commission took a balanced view of the question and held that the monopoly of the State on opium should continue as it was a revenue-earner. But on Ethical grounds, the export of opium to China was progressively reduced beginning from 1908. A severe famine broke out in 1896 in most of the places in North India and took a heavy toll of life. The bubonic plague which broke out in Bombay in 1896, soon spread throughout India and that too took a heavy toll of life.

LORD CURZON (1899-1905)

Lord Curzon was educated at Eton and Oxford. He became the President of the Oxford Union in 1880. After leaving Oxford, he entered Parliament as a Conservative member. He travelled widely in the East and got a thorough grasp of Asiatic affairs. He had served the British Government as Under-Secretary for both India and foreign affairs. He became the Viceroy of India when he was only 40 years old.

Foreign Policy

North-West Frontier

The foreign policy of Lord Curzon was concerned with the North-West Frontier, Afghanistan, Persia and Tibet. Though Curzon was a strong votary of the 'forward policy', he found it necessary to slightly modify the policy in his relations with the North-West Frontier. He ordered for the partial withdrawal of the British troops from the tribal areas. The place of the British troops was taken over by indigenous troops under British command. Strategic railways were constructed in the frontier. To have a closer watch on the activities of the tribes, a new province called the North-West Frontier Province was created in 1901 and placed under a Chief Commissioner. To avoid confusion, the old North-West Provinces consisting of Agra and Oudh was renamed "the United Provinces".

Afghanistan

When Abdur Rahman was alive, he kept the fanatical fury of the tribesmen under proper restraint. He was able to maintain cordial relations with the British by preventing the tribesmen from indulging in border violations. He died in 1901 and was succeeded by his son Habibullah (1901-1919). Difference of opinion arose between Afghanistan and India on the question of the renewal of the treaty. While the British contended that the treaty concluded with his father was a personal one, he argued that it was a treaty between two countries and there was no necessity for renewal. He refused to draw even the annual subsidy. But the differences

were soon patched up and cordial relations were restored after conceding some concessions to Habibullah like recognising his title "His Majesty", importing of arms, *etc.*

Persian Gulf

For a long time, the Persian Gulf had been under the control of Great Britain. The political designs of France, Russia, Germany and Turkey with a view to getting a foothold in the Persian Gulf were foiled by the British. Curzon further extended the control of the British by establishing British Consulates in the ports of the Persian Gulf.

Tibet

The Government of Tibet was an aristocratic theocracy under the Dalai Lama – political head—and the Panchen Lama —spiritual head. China was the suzerain of Tibet. To shake off the foreign yoke, Tibet entered into negotiations with Russia. Finding Russian influence growing stronger in Tibet, Curzon sent a military mission under Colonel Young Husband to Tibet in 1903. As the Dalai Lama refused to come to the conference-table, the expetition was pushed into the interior of Tibet. In 1904, the expedition reached Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. The Dalai Lama fled from the capital. Colonel Young Husband concluded the treaty of Lhasa (1904) with the regent. According to the terms of the treaty, the regent agreed to subject the foreign policy of Tibet to British control. He promised to pay a war indemnity of 75 lakhs of rupees and until the whole amount was cleared off, he allowed the British troops to occupy the Chumbi Valley (between Sikkim and Bhutan). A British commercial agent was to be stationed at Gyantse with freedom to go to Lhasa at any time. But the treaty was however revised at the instigation of the Home Government. The war indemnity was reduced to 25 lakhs. The British troops were to vacate the Chumbi Valley after three annual instalments were paid. The British agent at Gyantse was not to have freedom to go to Lhasa. The policy of Curzon towards Tibet was severely criticised because it was an unprovoked attack on Tibet and involved huge expenditure without any fruitful results.

Internal Administration

Lord Curzon was a great reformer. He left no stone unturned in his zeal to overhaul the entire system of administration. He left his impress in every department. He instituted a number of Commissions. In the light of the recommendations suggested by the commissions, he passed laws in such a way as to improve the tone and morale of the administration. He made his mark in history as the author of some beneficial reforms.

Famine and Plague

The famine of 1900 due to drought conditions was raging throughout the whole of North India. It took a heavy toll of life and over six million pounds were spent on relief by the Government. Curzon appointed a Famine Commission. Plauge joined hand in hand with famine and they took a heavy toll of life. But the remedial measures undertaken by the Government proved very inadequate.

Financial Reforms

The Viceroyalty of Curzon witnessed a general improvement in the financial condition of the country. In 1899, Indian budgets disclosed handsome surpluses. It was decided to make the British sovereign legal tender in India and its value was fixed at Rs. 15. The salt-tax was considerably reduced.

Agricultural Reforms

Curzon introduced a number of reforms to improve the lot of the peasants. The Punjab Land Alienation Act of 1900, the Land Revenue Resolution of 1902 and the Co-operative Credit Societies Act of 1904, were measures directed towards that end. An Inspector-General of Agriculture was appointed in 1901. An Agricultural Research Institute was founded at Pusa in Bengal. Many canals were dug.

Railways, Commerce and Industry, Police and Army

Hitherto, some of the railways were managed by companies and the rest by the Government of India through the Public

Works Department. In the light of the recommendations of a Committee, the Public Works Department of the Railways was abolished. A Railway Board of 3 members was set up to look after the railway administration. A Commerce and Industries Department was started in 1904. Curzon thoroughly overhauled the Police Department and created a Criminal Intelligence Department. The military department was thoroughly overhauled by Lord Kitchner, the Commander-in-Chief. The native regiments were rearmed and the artillery section was equipped with better guns.

Educational Reforms

Lord Curzon convened a Conference of educational experts at Simla in 1901. In 1904, a University Commission was appointed under Raleigh to study the condition of education in India and submit its report. In the light of the report was passed the Indian Universities Act of 1904. The act tightened the control of the Government over all higher education. Rules and regulations regarding the affiliation of colleges to Universities were made more strict. The act was vehemently criticised by Indians like Gokhale.

Archaeology

Curzon passed the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act in 1904. He organised the department of archaeology and epigraphy.

Partition of Bengal (1905)

For the sake of administrative convenience, Curzon decided to partition Bengal into two provinces. It wounded the Bengali sentiment. In spite of the protest raised by the people, the partition was effected in 1905. It led to a popular rising in Bengal. The Bengalis boycotted British goods. But Curzon remained adamant. The partition strengthened the forces of nationalism and paved the way for the rise of an extremist section in the Congress. The partition was annulled only in 1911 during the Viceroyalty of Hardinge II. Curzon resigned in 1905 over a dispute with the

Secretary of State on the question of the status and position of the Commander-in-Chief.

Estimate

Curzon was one of the hardest worked Viceroys of India. He had a high sense of duty. He overhauled every department and improved the tone and morale of the administration. He was out-and-out an imperialist and an able administrator. But his uncompromising attitude and lack of sympathetic imagination landed him in many troubles. By partitioning Bengal and by passing the Universities Act of 1904, he alienated the sympathies of the Indians. In the words of Roberts: "whatever errors, whatever failures— and both error and failure are inseparable from human agency— critics may detect in his six years of office, it cannot be doubted that when the cloudbelts of contemporary detraction have cleared away, Lord Curzon's name will stand amongst the foremost of those that make up the illustrious roll of the Governors-General of India".

LORD MINTO II (1905-10)

Lord Minto had to adopt repressive measures to put down the popular risings that came in the wake of the partition of Bengal. The Anglo-Russian Convention was signed in 1907. By this Convention, Britain and Russia resolved their differences and reached an agreement on the interests of the two countries in Afghanistan, Persia and Tibet. Russia agreed to conduct her political relations with Afgbanistan through the Indian Government. Both countries recognised the independence of Persia. Northern Persia came under the sphere of influence of Russia and Southern Persia under Britain. As regards Tibet, both countries recognised the territorial integrity of Tibet and agreed to conduct their political relations with Tibet through China. The Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 was passed during his Viceroyalty. (Refer Chapter VII).

LORD HARDINGE II (1910-16)

King George V came to India in 1911. In the *Durbar* held at Delhi in 1911 was announced the transfer of the capital from

Calcutta to Delhi and the annulment of the partition of Bengal. The First World War broke out in 1914. The Indians rendered meritorious services to the British during the war.

CHELMSFORD (1916-21)

The Rowlatt Act of 1919 armed the Government with arbitrary powers to deal with political offenders. It led to many disturbances in the country. The situation became explosive in Amritsar. The people killed four Europeans and assaulted a woman. All public meetings were prohibited. But in defiance of the order, a crowd gathered in an enclosed place at Jalianwalla Bagh. Without warning, bullets were showered on the crowd under the orders of Dyer. Some hundreds died and many were wounded. The Third Anglo-Afghan War (1919) was fought during his Viceroyalty. (Refer this Chapter). The Moutagu-Chelmsford Reforms was passed in 1919. (Refer Chapter VII).

LORD READING (1921-26)

Lord Reading severely put down the Maplah rebellion (1921-22) that broke out in Malabar. A Tariff Board was set up in 1923. The Universities of Dacca, Delhi and Nagpur were set up.

LORD IRWIN (1926-31)

The unsatisfactoriness of the Reforms of 1919 made the Parliament of Britain enquire into its working. In 1927, it appointed a Commission under Simon to study the situation. The Simon Commission recommended in its report 'Provincial Autonomy' for India. A Round Table Conference was held in London to discuss the Simon Commission Report (1930-31). But the Congress boycotted it. Gandhiji started the Civil Disobedience Movement by violating the salt law. He and many other Congress leaders were arrested. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed in 1931. Gandhiji promised to discontinue the Civil Disobedience Movement. Irwin withdrew all repressive measures and released all political prisoners.

The westernising policy of Amanullah, the Amir of Afghanistan, made him unpopular among his subjects. He abdicated the throne in 1929. A civil war ensued. But Irwin did not interfere in the Afghan affair.

WILLINGDON (1931-36)

As the Second and Third Round Table Conferences failed in arriving at a solution for a new constitution for India, the British Government prepared a White Paper embodying the recommendations suggested in the conferences. After due discussion of the White Paper in the British Parliament, it became the Government of India Act 1935 which came into effect in 1937. (Refer Chapter VII).

LORD LINLITHGOW (1936-43)

The Government of India Act 1935 came into effect in 1937. When the Second World War broke out in 1939, the Congress expressed its unwillingness to fight on the ground that the people were not consulted and it resigned from the ministries of the seven provinces. The Japanese victories in the early stages of the war made the British Government send Sir Stafford Cripps to negotiate with Indian leaders. The Cripps' Mission offered 'Dominion Status' to India with power to break away from the British Common wealth. The Congress adopted the "Quit India" resolution in 1942. The movement died out by the end of August, 1942.

LORD WAVELL (1943-47) (Refer Indian National Movement.

MOUNTBATTEN (1947-48)

Mountbatten who succeeded Wavell as Viceroy submitted his plan to the British Parliament and it was passed on 18th July, 1947. On August 15, 1947, India was granted freedom. But the British gave a parting-kick by dividing India into India and Pakistan.

RAJAGOPALACHARI (1948-50)

After India got independence, Mountbatten was appointed Governor-General of India. Mountbatten was succeeded by C. Rajagopalachari as Governor-General. He held the post till the inauguration of the Indian Republic in January 26, 1950.

Governors-General and Viceroys under the British Crown

1. Lord Canning (1850-1862)
2. Lord Elgin I (1862-1863)
3. *Sir Robert Napier (1863)*
4. *Sir William Denison (1863)*
5. Sir John Lawrence (1864-1869)
6. Lord Mayo (1869-1872)
7. *Sir John Strachey (1872)*
8. *Lord Napier (1872)*
9. Lord Northbrook (1872-1876)
10. Lord Lytton (1876-1880)
11. Lord Ripon (1880-1884)
12. Lord Dufferin (1884-1888)
13. Lord Lansdowne (1888-1894)
14. Lord Elgin II (1894-1899)
15. Lord Curzon (1899-1905)
16. *Lord Ampthill (1904)*
17. Lord Minto II (1905-1910)
18. Lord Hardinge II (1910-1916)
19. Lord Chelmsford (1916-1921)
20. Lord Reading (1921-1926)
21. *Lord Lytton II (1925)*
22. Lord Irwin (1926-1931)
23. *Lord Goschen (1929)*
24. Lord Willingdon (1931-1936)
25. *Sir George Stanley (1934)*
26. Lord Linlithgow (1936-1943)
27. Lord Wavell (1943-1947)
28. *Sir John Colville (1945)*
29. Lord Louis Mountbatten (1947)

The names of those who filled in temporarily or officiated in the absence of the Viceroys are printed in Italics.

2. POLICY TOWARDS AFGHANISTAN

Second Anglo-Afghan War (1878-1880)

Circumstances leading to the War

With the annexation of Sind in 1843 and the Punjab in 1849, the North-West Frontier was pushed still further. But the frontiers both in Sind and the Punjab remained ill-defined. The proximity of Afghanistan to the forntiers led to a number of clashes. Auckland blundered badly in the First Anglo-Afghan War. The forward policy of Auckland was reversed by his successor Ellenborough who brought the war to a close. John Lawrence (1864-69) followed the policy of "masterly inactivity" in his relations with Afghanistan. Dost Muhammad died in 1863. In the war of succession that ensued among his 16 sons, Sher Ali won the bloody contest. Lawrence did not interfere in the civil war. He recognised Sher Ali as the Amir of Afghanistan. In the meanwhile, Russia advanced towards Afghanistan with political motives. Tashkent and Samarqand fell into the hands of Russia. The advance of Russia further south was viewed with great concern by Sher Ali. He opened negotiations with the British to save him from the impending invasion of Afghanistan by Russia. Lawrence presented him with arms and money but refused to interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan as he feared that it would lead to a clash of arms between Russia and the British in Afghanistan. He firmly believed that the frontier question between Afghanistan and Russia should be discussed and settled at diplomatic levels by Russia and Britain. He further believed that he could not check foreign invasions by crossing the Indian frontiers and waging war in Alien lands. According to him, the real solution lay in strengthening the defence forces, creating a sound financial position and the willing co-operation of the people and the States. This policy of Lawrence was described as one of "masterly inactivity". Mayo and Northbrook, the successor of Lawrence, faithfully followed the policy of "masterly inactivity". So it did not land India into troubles. When Mayo met Sher Ali at Ambala, the latter earnestly entreated the Viceroy to enter into a definite treaty with him. But Mayo

"assured him of moral support to be followed by gift of money, arms and ammunitions whenever the British Government deemed it desirable". Despite the fact that Kiev fell into the hands of Russia in 1873 and the renewed offer by Sher Ali for a definite treaty with him, Northbrook made only a friendly gesture of moral support and present of arms and money. The soundness and reasonableness of the policy came to be appreciated only when it was flown to the winds and the forward policy was given a free play during the administration of Lytton. When Northbrook was pressed by the Home Government to revive the forward policy towards Afghanistan, he resigned.

Lytton reversed the policy of Lawrence and followed the "forward policy" in his relations with Afghanistan. As soon as he assumed the reins of office, he asked Sher Ali to receive a mission at Kabul. But as Sher Ali very well knew about the implications of such a move, he refused to entertain the mission on the ground that he could not assure the safe conduct of the mission and save it from the fanatical fury of his tribesmen. But Lytton insisted on his demand. The attempt to settle the issue at a conference-table proved a failure. But even before the negotiations were started Lytton made preparations for the impending war. The British concluded a treaty with the Khan of Kalat in Baluchistan and occupied Quetta in 1876. By a secret negotiation with the Raja of Kashmir, the British set up an out-post at Gilgit. Observing the provocative activities of the British, Sher Ali marched his forces to Kandahar. In the international field, the relations between Russia and Britain got strained. Bent upon giving maximum trouble to Britain, Russia forced Sher Ali, despite his protests, to receive a Russian envoy. Lytton who was waiting for an opportunity to enter into a war despatched a counter-mission to Kabul under Sir Neville Chamberlain preceded by an advance guard. The advance guard was stopped at Ali Masjid by an Afghan officer who refused to allow it to pass. So the advance guard along with the mission withdrew to Peshawar. Lord Lytton got infuriated and sent an ultimatum to Sher Ali demanding from him an apology for the forcible ejection of the mission and insisted on him to receive a

permanent British mission at Kabul. As Sher Ali did not send a reply within the stipulated period of time, Lytton declared war on Afghanistan in 1878.

Course of the War

Lytton launched a triple attack on Afghanistan. The country was attacked through the Bolan Pass, the Khyber Pass and the Kurram Pass. The British forces without any serious resistance overran the territory between Kabul and Kandahar. Sher Ali fled from Kabul and died in "bitterness and exile" in 1879. The war came to an end by the treaty of Gandamak signed in 1879 between the British and Yakub Khan, the son of Sher Ali. According to the terms of the treaty, the new Amir agreed to receive a British Resident at Kabul and subject his foreign policy to British control. The Amir ceded the districts of Pisin and Sibi to the British. The British agreed to pay a subsidy of 6 lakhs of rupees every year and promised to protect Afghanistan from external threat.

But the treaty, of Gandamak soon proved to be a hollow truce. Sir Louis Cavagnari, the British Resident at Kabul, was murdered in 1879. Soon hostilities broke out. The British forces entered Afghanistan and defeated the rebels at Charasiab in 1879 and Kabul was occupied by them. Yakub Khan was sent to India as prisoner. The entire nation rose in arms against the British. The tragic scenes of the First Anglo-Afghan War were re-enacted. Lytton decided to enthrone Abdur Rahman, the nephew of Sher Ali. But before he could put his plan into action, he was recalled in 1880.

Lord Lytton was severely criticised for his policy towards Afghanistan. Militarily the British succeeded in the Second Anglo-Afghan War but failed diplomatically. Gladstone severely criticised Lytton in the following words: "We made war in error upon Afghanistan in 1838. To err is human and pardonable. But we have erred a second time on the same ground and with no better justification.....This error has been repeated in the face of every warning conceivable

and imaginable and in the face of an unequalled mass of authorities".

End of the War

Lord Ripon (1880-1884) was sent as the new Viceroy to reverse the "forward policy" of Lytton in his relations with Afghanistan. Lytton blundered badly in Afghanistan because he revived the "forward policy" of Auckland in utter disregard

of the policy of "masterly inactivity" of Lawrence. Soon after the arrival of Lord Ripon, the British forces in Kandahar were defeated by Ayub Khan (son of Sher Ali) at Maiwand in 1880. Roberts, the British General, marched from Kabul to Kandahar and completely defeated Ayub Khan. In this Abdur Rahman lent

able support to him. Ripon amicably settled the Afghan issue. He recognised Abdur Rahman as the Amir on condition that he should not enter into any treaty with other powers save the British. The controversial clause dealing with the opening up of a British Residency in Afghanistan, which was insisted upon on the eve of the Second Anglo-Afghan War, was dropped. The British retained the districts ceded by the treaty of Gandamak.

Sudsequent history of Afghanistan down to 1901

During the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin (1884-1888), Russia with political designs marched towards the south and occupied Merv in 1884. Gladstone, the Prime Minister, interfered in the affair. It was agreed by the British and Russia to set up a Boundary Commission. While the Commission was demarcating the boundaries, a Russian General occupied the village of Panjdeh — a disputed territory. The caution of Dufferin and the restraint of Abdur Rahman prevented the outbreak of war. The affair was settled at diplomatic levels by Britain and Russia. Abdur Rahman surrendered Panjdeh to Russia in return for Zulfikar. It was mainly due to the diplomacy of Gladstone that a war was averted.

In 1886 the Boundary Commission concluded its work. The Russo-Afghan boundary from the Oxus to the Zulfikar Pass was laid down. Peace prevailed for a period of 6 years. But in 1892 during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lansdowne (1888-1894), Russia laid claim to the whole of the Pamirs. Lord Lansdowne amicably settled the Afghano-Indian border question. The Durand Line (named after Sir Mortimer Durand) separated the territory of the two. Most of the territory lying between Afghanistan and the Punjab, called the tribal territory, came under the rule of the British. The subsidy of the Amir was raised from 12 to 18 lakhs a year. The Amir promised not to interfere in the affairs of the tribes that lay on the Indian side of the frontier line.

The disturbances caused by the tribesmen on the Indian side of the frontier invited the attention of the Indian Government. In 1893, a formal protectorate was declared over Chitral and Gilgit. Serious disturbances broke out in Chitral during the Viceroyalty of Elgin II (1894-1899). The ruling chief of Chitral was assassinated and an attempt was made to expel the British political agent. The Indian Government sent an army. The tribal revolt took a violent turn. But it was, however, suppressed. In order to prevent the recurrence of such outbreaks, strategic roads and railways were constructed in the frontier districts and troops were stationed in different places in the region to counteract any future flare-ups.

The history of Afghanistan between 1901 and 1919

When Abdur Rahman was alive, he kept the fanatical fury of the tribesmen under proper restraint. He was able to maintain cordial relations with the British by preventing the tribesman from indulging in border violations. He died in 1901 and was succeeded by his son Habibullah (1901-1919). Difference of opinion arose between Afghanistan and India on the question of the renewal of the treaty. While the British contended that the treaty concluded with his father was a personal one, he argued that it was a treaty between two countries and there was no necessity for renewal. He refused to draw even the anuual subsidy. But the differences were soon patched up and cordial relations were restored after conceding some concessions to Habibullah like recognising his title "His Majesty", importing of arms, *etc.* By the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, Russia agreed to conduct her political relations with Afghanistan through the Indian Government.

The Third Anglo-Afghan War (1919)

Amir Habibullah was assassinated in 1919. He was succeeded by his third son Amanullah (1919-1929). Though he wanted to maintain cordial relations with the British, he fell a victim to the evil machinations of a war party and the Third Anglo-Afghan War broke out in 1919. With up to-date weapons of warfare, the

British bomborded Afghanistan. Kabul and Jalalabad were bombed. The war came to an end by the treaty of Rawalpindi in 1919. According to the terms of the treaty, the Government of India put an end to the subsidy and prohibited the Amir from importing arms through India. Afghanistan recovered control of its foreign affairs. Thenceforward, the relations between India and Afghanistan remained cordial.

History of Afghanistan after 1919

The westernising policy of Amanullah made him unpopular among his subjects. He abdicated the throne in 1929. A civil war ensued. But Viceroy Irwin (1926-1931) did not interfere in the Afghan affair. After the abdication of Amanullah in 1929, confusion prevailed in the country for a period of 9 months. Habibullah, a brigand chief, proclaimed himself Amir and started a reign of terror. However, Nadir Khan, the cousin of Amanullah, drove out Habibullah in 1929 and came to power. Nadir Khan maintained cordial relations with India. He was assassinated in 1933. Nadir Khan was suceeded by his only surviving son Zahir Shah. General Mohammed Daud, the brother-in-law of Zahir Shah, ousted him from power in 1973 and proclaimed Afghanistan a Republic.

To sum up the history of Afghanistan, it may be pointed out that before the first half of the 18th century, Afghanistan was ruled by different persons such as Alexander the Great in the 4th century B.C., Genghiz Khan in the 13th century, Timur in the 14th century, Babur in the 16th century and Nadir Shah of Persia in the first half of the 18th century. It was in 1747 that the Afghans shook off the foreign yoke and obtained independence thanks to Ahmad Shah Abdali or Durrani. But the British defeated the Afghans in the Second Anglo-Afghan war and from 1879 the foreign policy of Afghanistan was controlled by the British. For a period of 40 years thereafter Afghanistan stood as a "buffer-state" between the British Empire in India and the Russian Empire in Centeral Asia. It was in 1919 after the Third Anglo-Afghan War that she got back her control over external affairs. She remained neutral during the two world wars. She became a member of the United

Nations in 1946. She usually mirrors the aspirations of the Afro-Asian nations. She has close ties with the U.S.S.R. and matintains cordial relations with the U.S.A. She cherishes in her heart of hearts the formation of Pushtunistan or Pakhtunistan or Pathanistan for her Pushtun or Pathan brothers settled at present in the Pakistan side of the Durand Line, *i. e.*, in the North-West Frontier Province.

The North-West Frontier Province

The North-West Frontier Province (formerly the North-West Frontier region) was a large chunk of territory that lay between the Indus and the border of Afghanistan. These frontier regions more commonly known as tribal areas extended in the north to Chitral as far as the Hindukush Mountains and in the south as far as Baluchistan. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Curzon (1899-1905), the North-West Frontier problem invited his immediate attention. Though he was a strong votary of the "forward policy", he found it necessary to slightly modify the policy in his relations with the North-West Frontier. He ordered for the partial withdrawal of the British troops from the tribal areas of Khyber Pass, the Kurram Valley and Waziristan in particular and the tribal areas in general. But some posts such as Chakdarra, Malakand and Dargai were retained and forfitied. The places from where the British troops were withdrawn were replaced by indigenous troops under British command. Strategic railways were built upto Dargai at the base of the Malakand, Jamrud at the entrance to the Khyber Pass, and Thal at the mouth of the Kurram Valley. To have a closer watch on the activities of the tribes, a new province called the North-West Frontier Province was created in 1901 and placed under a Chief Commissioner. To avoid confusion, the old North-West Provinces consisting of Agra and Oudh was renamed "the United Provinces". The new province covered an area of 40,000 square miles. It included the political agencies of the Malakand, the Kurram, the Khyber, the Tochi and Wana, and all the trans-Indus districts of the Punjab, excepting the settled district of Dera Ghazi Khan which remained under the jurisdiction of the Punjab Govern-

ment. The administration of the new province was left under the control of a Chief Commissioner, directly answerable to the Government of India. In spite of the arrangements made, neither Curzon nor his successors were able to find a permanent solution to the burning Frontier Problem. One tribe or another rose into revolt at one time or another and posed a serious threat to the security of the frontier. The Indian Government had to spend large sums of money in suppressing these revolts. When India was partitioned in 1947, the North-West Frontier Province became a province of Pakistan. It is worth mentioning here that the "Durand Line" is the border for Pakistan and Afghanistan. Before the British left India, Afghanistan tried to prevail upon the British that their Pathan or Pushtun brothers settled on the Indian side of the Durand Line should be free to choose their future instead of being forced to join either India or Pakistan. On the Pushtunistan or Pathanistan or Pakhtunistan issue, the relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan got strained. When the North-West Frontier Province was integrated with Pakistan in 1955, it led to an armed incursion by the Pushtuns on the other side of the Durand Line. Pakistan cut off its diplomatic relations with Afghanistan in 1961. However, it was revived in 1963 thanks to the mediation of the Shah of Iran. Whether Pushtunistan or Pathanistan or Pakhtunistan would be formed in the near future is a matter for conjecture.

3. RELATIONS WITH PERSIA

Persia which is officially known as Iran since 1935 had a chequered history in the past. It will suffice here to say that the Arab Muslims established their hegemony in Persia in the seventh century A. D. Persia was subject to two invasions—one under Genghiz Khan in the 13th century and the other under Timur in the 14th century leaving destruction and devastation behind. However, Shah Ismail, evolved order out of chaos and laid the foundation of the Safavid dynasty in 1501 which lasted till 1736. Nadir Shah (1736-1747) who belonged to the Afsharid dynasty invaded Afghanistan and India. Civil war ensued after his death. However, the Qajar dynasty (1794-1925) was set up in Persia.

Russia which had already expanded her territories in Central Asia in the East concluded the treaty of Gulistan with Persia in 1813. To outwit and counteract the political designs of Russia, Britain in the next year concluded the Treaty of Tehran with Persia, by which "all European armies were to be prevented from entering Persia, if hostile to Great Britain".

With political and commercial motives, Britain had already established her influence in the Persian Gulf. For a long time, the Persian Gulf had been under the control of the British. The first effective steps to counteract the designs of France, Russia, Germany and Turkey with a view to getting a foothold in the Persian Gulf were taken by Lord Curzon (1899-1905). He visited the Persian Gulf in 1903 and further extended the control of the British by establishing British Consulates in the ports and trading centres in the interior.

Before the close of the 19th century, Persia had lost large areas of territory in the north to Russia. As Russia was also exerting pressure to extend her sphere of influence in Persia, the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed in 1907. By this, Britain and Russia reached an agreement on the interests of the two countries in Persia. Both countries recognised the independence of Persia. Northern Persia came under the sphere of influence of Russia and Southern Persia under Britain with a neutral area between the two.

Although Persia declared its neutrality during the First World War, British and Russian troops were stationed in some parts of the country to safeguard their interests. A new dynasty called Pahlavi was started in Persia by Reza Khan in 1925. In 1935 the name of Persia was officially changed to Iran. During the Second World War, Iran favoured Germany in the beginning. As the Shah of Iran refused the transit of military supplies from the allies through Iran to Russia, British and Russian troops poured into Iran. The Shah abdicated in 1941 in favour of his son Mohammed Reza. In 1943, the new Shah declared war on Germany. The oil industry was nationalised in 1951. The protests of Britain

and the Anglo-Iranian oil Company went unheeded. Iran broke off diplomatic relations with Britain in 1952. However, it was resumed in 1953. In 1971, Iran celebrated the 2,500th anniversary of the establishment of the Persian Empire.

4. POLICY TOWARDS BURMA

The early history of Burma, the land of the Pagodas, is a long record of wars and struggles. Europeans penetrated into Burma during the 17th century. Among the major powers, the first to set foot on Burma was the Portuguese, followed by the Dutch and the English. As a result of the First Burmese War (1824-1826), the British got Assam, Arakkan and Tenasserim, and by the Second Burmese War (1852), Lower Burma.

The Third Burmese War (1885)

Causes of the War

The loss of Lower Burma was a source of constant irritation to Mindon Min (1853-1878), the Burmese King. He hated the British from his heart of hearts. The Burmese custom entailed everyone attending the court to remove his shoes and kneel before the King. The British Resident at Mandalay considered such formalities *infra dig* and raised his figer of protest. But as the King insisted on him to observe the formalities, he ceased to attend court. The influence of the British in the Burmese court also began to wane.

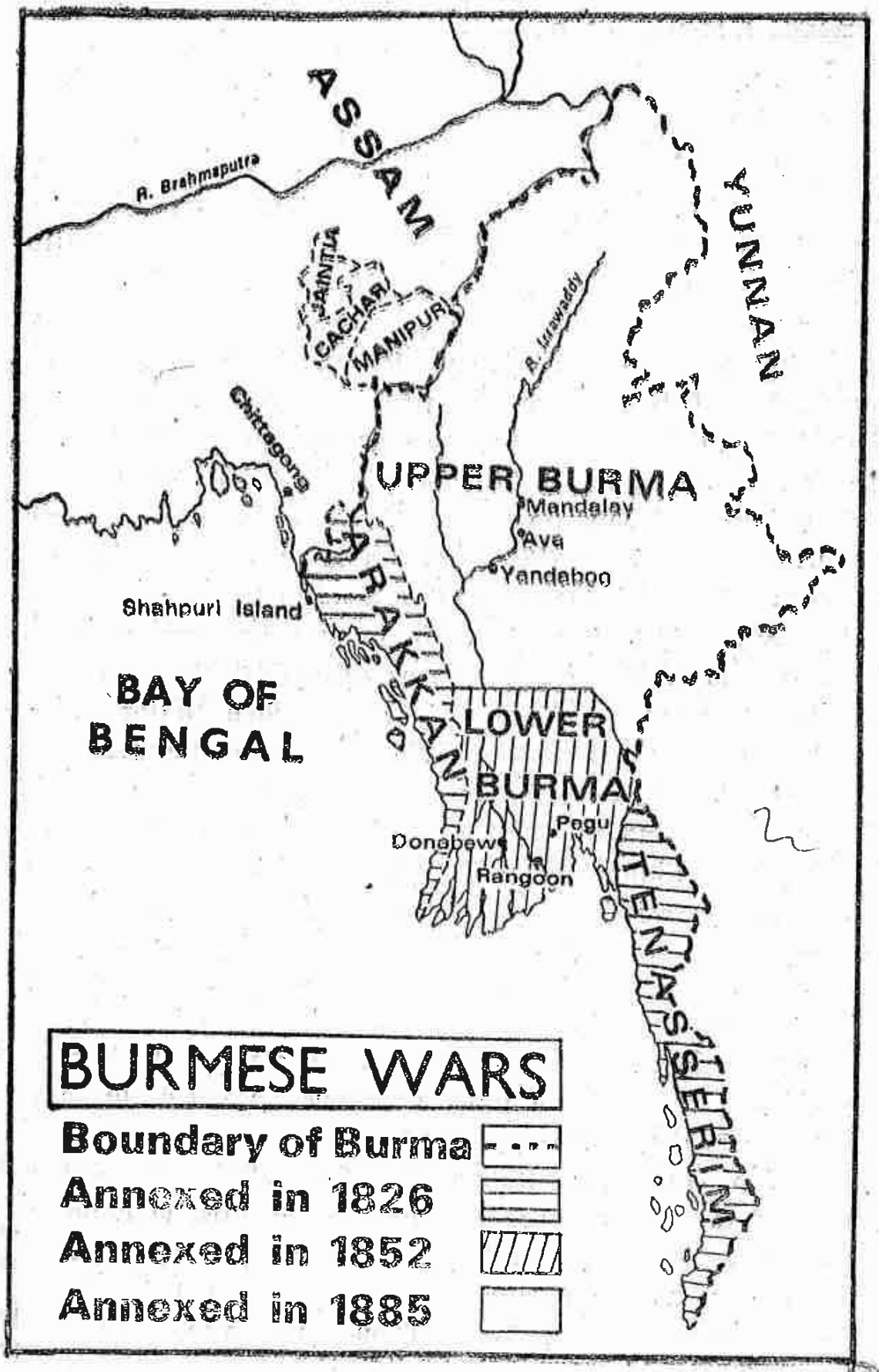
Thibaw (1878-1885) who succeeded Mindon Min was a blood-thirsty tyrant. He killed as many as 80 of his relatives on the eve of his accession. The protest of the British Resident against such cold-blooded murder went unheeded. The relations between the Indian Goverment and Burma got strained.

The King further gave offence to the British by entering into a commercial treaty with the French in 1885. The French who had already established an Empire in Indo-China situated in the Far East secretly promised to send arms to Burma through Tonkin in Indo-China. A French Consul

took up his post at Mandalay. The French were also given many commercial concessions. The peaceful and at the same time the cladenstine penetration of the French into Burma greatly annoyed the British. But as they found no valid grounds to interfere, they waited for an opportunity. It also soon came. The Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation, an English firm, had taken on lease some forests from the Government of Burma. On the plea that the Corporation had cheated the Government, it imposed a heavy fine of more than 23 lakhs of rupees. The Corporation approached the Government of India in the matter. Thereupon the Indian Government demanded that the case should be referred to the arbitration of the Viceroy. But the Burmese King flatly refused. The time was also favourable to the British to dictate terms to the Burmese King because the French had withdrawn bag and baggage from Upper Burma due to internal troubles in Indo-China. Lord Dufferin (1884-1888), the then Viceroy, sent an ultimatum to King Thibaw. It laid down that the Burmese King should receive a permanent British Resident at Mandalay. The Resident should not be insisted on going through the customary formalities of the ceremonial kneeling and removing off the shoes. The King should surrender the external sovereignty to the British. The case of the Bombay-Burma Trading Corporation should be settled after due consultation with an envoy of the Viceroy. The Burmese Government should render all help for the British to carry on trade with Yunnan.

Course and results of the War

As the demands were flatly turned down by Thibaw, Dufferin declared war against Burma in 1885. Mandalay fell to the British. As the king was not able to stand before the military might of the British, he surrendered. He was made a prisoner and deported to India. Upper Burma was annexed. At the end of the Third Burmese War, the conquest of Burma was completed. On the first day of 1886, Burma was proclaimed a province of India.


ASSAM
A. Brahmaputra
JAINTIA
CACHAR
MANIPUR
A. Irrawaddy
YUNNAN
Chittagong
UPPER BURMA
Mandalay
Ava
Yandaboo
Shahpuri Island
ARAKKAN
BAY OF
BENGAL
LOWER
BURMA
Pegu
Donabew
Rangoon
TENASSERIM
BURMESE WARS
Boundary of Burma
Annexed in 1826
Annexed in 1852
Annexed in 1885

Subsequent history of Burma

The end of the war did not mean the end of the eastern frontier problem. The frontier of Burma on the Chinese border remained ill-defined. It was, however, fixed by a Delimitation Commission in 1937. In the same year Burma was separated from India and it came under the direct rule of the British Parliament. During World War II, Rangoon and Mandalay were bombed by Japan. Burma was occupied by Japan until 1945. Burma was granted independence in 1948. During the premiership of U Nu, the government evolved a policy of limited Socialism with British financial assistance. U Nu was the dominating figure in Burmese politics from 1948 to 1962 with a break of only three years from 1958 to 1960. Ne win who was in power from 1958 to 1960, captured power in 1962. He set up a military dictatorship. The dictatorship came to an end in March 1974. Then Ne Win became the president of the Burmese republic. He remained in power till U San Yu, the present president, stepped in to his shoes in 1981. While National unity was the dominant motive of the U Nu Government, Burmanisation was the motive of the Ne Win government. Burma settled a border dispute with China in 1960. As a prize for this settlement, Burma still continues the policy of non-Alignment which does not involve association with countries antagonistic to China. This was the reason why Burma observed studied silence during the Chinese attack of India in 1962, the Pakistan attack of India in 1965, and the Vietnam War. The close ties which once existed between Burma and India is a myth of the past. The refugees from Burma pose a serious problem to both India and Pakistan. The so-called Cultural Revolution of China had its repercussions in Burma also. Since 1967, a pro-Peking section of the Burmese has increased its terrorist activities. It has estranged the relations between Burma and China. Burma still views with great admiration and apprehension the activities of China. She has accepted aid from Russia also.

5. RELATIONS WITH TIBET AND BHUTAN

TIBET

It is no wonder that Tibet which is the highest region on earth is called the roof of the world. It remained in splendid isolation because of the extreme difficulty of access to it. It was conquered by the Mongols in the 13th centuary. The rule of Tibet by a lama (senior monks or priests are called lamas) began in 1247 when the Mongol prince Godan permitted the head of the Sakya monastery to rule over Tibet as the Viceroy of the Mongol ruler. Thus the lama became the religious and temporal leader of Tibet. Even after the rule of the Mongols, Tibet remained a part of China under the Ming (1368-1644) and Manchu (1644-1912) rulers. The lama was given the title "Dalai Lama" in 1578 (Dalai means ocean, *i. e.*, the lama was noted for his ocean of knowledge). The office of the Panchen Lama (precious great pundit) dates from the 17th century. The western writers call the Panchen Lama, Tashi Lama. He is the priest second in rank to the Dalai Lama. The headquarters of the Dalai Lama is Lhasa and that of the Panchen Lama, Tashilhumpo.

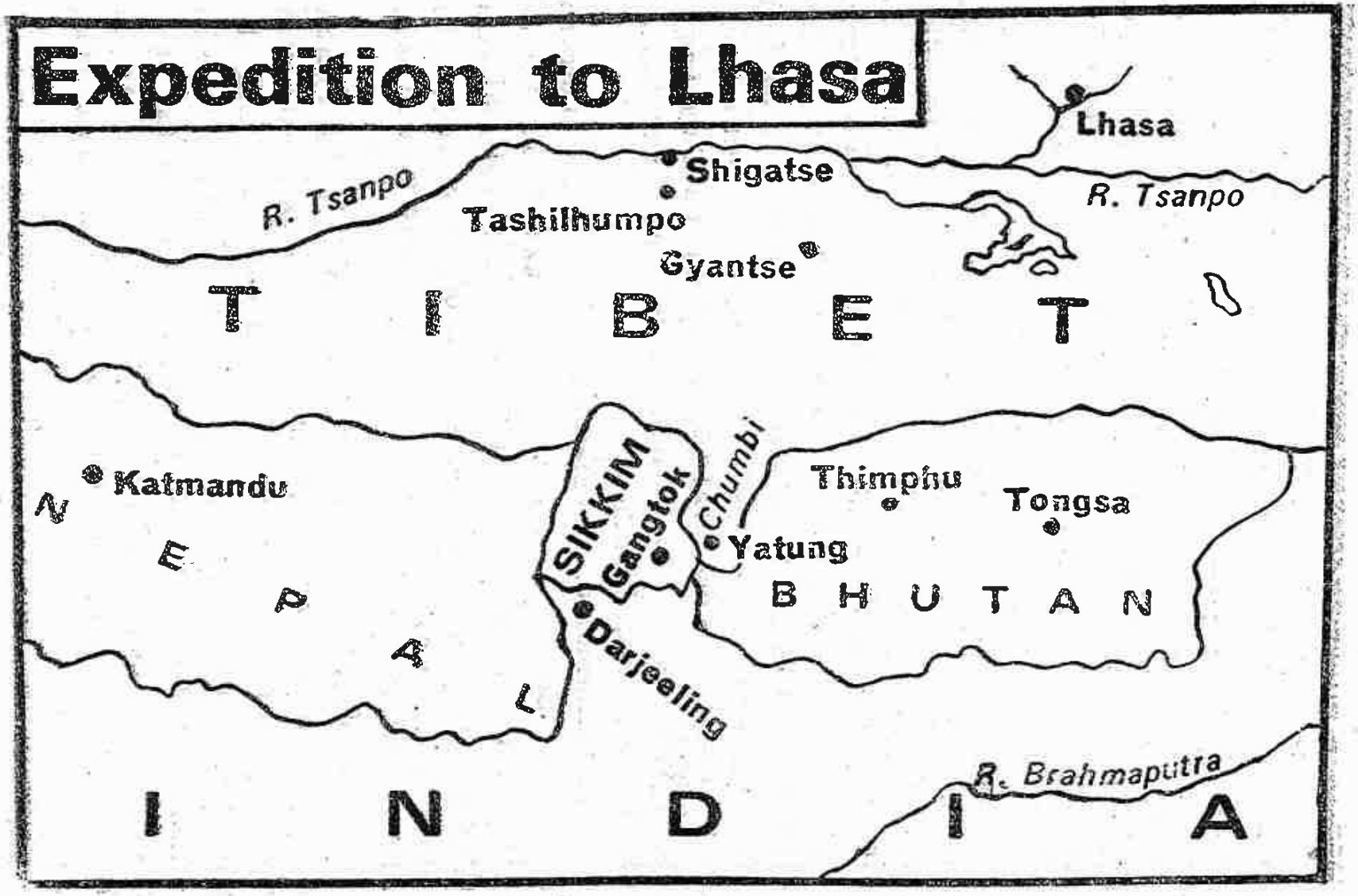
The influence of the Manchus in Tibet began to decline in the 19th century. China's defeat in the Opium War of 1839-1842 and a Civil War which lasted from 1851-1864 were the causes for the decline. By the end of the century, the control of China over Tibet existed more in name than in fact.

Relations with the British

The official relations of the British with the Tibet began in 1774. Warren Hastings obtained for the Indians some trade privileges. British India entered into a convention with the Manchu Government in 1890. It fixed the boundary between Sikkim, a British protectorate and Tibet. In 1893 British India wrested from China some trade concessions in Tibet. As the Government of Tibet was not consulted on both occasions, Tibet refused to honour them.

Young Husband's Mission

The letters sent by Lord Curzon (1899-1905) to Tibet exhorting her to honour the treaty obligations were returned


Expedition to Lhasa
Lhasa
Shigatse
R. Tsanpo
Tashilhumpo
R. Tsanpo
Gyantse
T I B E T
Katmandu
N E P A L
SIKKIM
Gangtok
Chumbi
Thimphu
Tongsa
Yatung
B H U T A N
Darjeeling
R. Brahmaputra
I N D I A

intact. To make matters worse, Tibet entered into negotiations with Russia to shake off the Chinese yoke. Finding Russian influence growing stronger in Tibet and as all the attempts of Curzon to open trade with Tibet failed, he sent a Military Mission under Colonel Young Husband to Tibet in 1903. As the Dalai Lama refused to come to the conference-table, the expedition was pushed into the interior of Tibet. In 1904, the expedition reached Lhasa, the capital of Tibet. The Dalai Lama fled from the capital. Colonel Young Husband concluded the treaty of Lhasa in 1904 with the regent. According to the terms of the treaty, the regent agreed to subject the foreign policy of Tibet to British Control. He promised to pay a war indemnity of 75 lakhs of rupees and until the whole amount was cleared off, he allowed the British troops to occupy the Chumbi Valley (between Sikkim and Bhutan). A British commercial agent was to be stationed at Gyantse with freedom to go to Lhasa at any time. But the treaty was however revised at the instigation of the Home Government. The war indemnity was reduced to 25 lakhs. The British troops were to vacate the Chumbi Valley after three annual instalments were paid. The British agent at Gyantse was not to have freedom to go to Lhasa. The policy of Curzon towards Tibet was severely criticised because it was an unprovoked attack on Tibet and involved huge expenditure without any fruitful results

Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907

According to the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, both countries recognised the territorial integrity of Tibet and agreed to conduct their political relations with Tibet through China.

Invasion of Tibet by China

The British troops withdrew from the Chumbi Valley in 1908 after the Chinese Government undertook the responsibility of paying off the Tibetan indemnity. The Chinese forces poured into Lhasa in 1910. The Dalai Lama fled from Lhasa to India. The Chinese Revolution of 1911 put an end to the Manchu rule in China. The Manchus abdicated in 1912. The Dalai Lama returned to Tibet in 1912 and proclaimed its independence in 1913.

Simla Conference and McMahon Line

In order to settle the boundary between China and Tibet and between Tibet and India, a conference was held at Simla in 1913 attended by Britain, China and Tibet. Britain was represented by Sir Henry McMahon, the foreign Secretary of the Government of India. It was decided that Tibet was to be divided into "Inner Tibet" and "Outer Tibet". The suzerainty of China over both Tibets was recognised with the proviso that "Outer Tibet" situated near the Indian border was to remain an autonomous region as far as internal administration was concerned. The Simla agreement was never never ratified by the Chinese Government and it continued to claim sovereinty over Tibet. The so-called McMahon Line fixing the border between India and Tibet was agreed upon by both Governments.

Subsequent History of Tibet

After China came under the control of the Communists in 1949, the Chinese forces poured into Tibet in 1950. By an agreement arrived at in 1951, Tibet recognised the Chinese sovereignty in exchange for limited autonomy. Toworth off the Chinese yoke, the Tibetans revolted in 1959. But it was crushed by China. The Dalai Lama who was implicated in the revolt fled to India. China assumed full powers of Tibet with the Panchen Lama as the acting Chairman. In 1964 the Panchen Lama was relieved of his post. In 1965 Tibet became an autonomous region of the Chinese People's Republic.

In the beginning, the relations between Independent India and China were cordial. The Prime Ministers of the two countries—Nehru and Chou En-lai—accepted and signed the Pancha Sheela in 1954. But the relations soon got strained. When China invaded Tibet in 1959, she occupied 31,000 square kilometres of Indian territory. China invaded India in 1962 and occupied 36,260 square kilometres of Indian territory in Ladakh and 5,180 square kilometres in the North-East Frontier.

BHUTAN — T imeimel

Bhutau is a small kingdom in the Eastern Himalayas located between India and China. The early history of Bhutan is shrouded in obscurity. Round about 1630, a dynasty was started in Bhutan and it ruled the country till 1907. Despite the isolation of the country, it was subjected to the attacks of Tibet in the 17th and 18th centuries. But it successfully repelled all the attacks. During the time of Warren Hastings, the British invaded Bhutan for the first time in 1772-73. It was only after the conquest of Assam by the British in 1826 that border clashes started between Bhutan and India. As the Bhutanese indulged in border raids, the British invaded Bhutan for a second time in 1865 and defeated her. Bhutan agreed to refer all disputes between herself and Sikkim and Cooch-Bihar to the mediation of the British Government. In return, Britain agreed to pay an annual subsidy to her. In 1907 the British helped Sir Ugyen Wangchuk, the Governor of Tongsa, to usher in a new dynasty in Bhutan. The present ruler of Bhutan who came to power in 1972 is Jigme Singye Wangchuk, the great grandson of the founder of the dynasty. By the British-Bhutan treaty of 1910, Bhutan was granted full autonomy in internal matters. But foreign affairs came under the control of Britain. The subsidy amount was also raised. Independent India also concluded a similar treaty with Bhutan in 1949. The subsidy amount was further raised and a strip of territory was transferred to her. Until recently the foreign affairs of Bhutan were guided by India. But now she has her own diplomatic corps. In 1971 Bhutan became a member of the United Nations.

6. POLICY TOWARDS INDIAN STATES

Introduction

"To pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominions in India are measures repugnant to the wish, honour and policy of this nation" — a guiding principal laid down in the Pitt's India Act of 1784 was not strictly adhered to by some of the Governors-General. Wellesley's "Subsidiary

System" and Dalhousie's "Doctrine of Lapse" were the direct antithesis to the above-mentioned principle. The transfer of power from the Company to the Crown in 1858 marked a new epoch in the relations of the Government of India towards the Indian States. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 laid down in categorical terms that it was not the policy of the British Crown for further extension of territories in India The declaration gave immense relief to the rulers of Indian States and they breathed an air of liberty. To make the assurance doubly sure, the *'Sanads'* issued by Canning in 1860 to the important States, recognised the practice of adoption to Hindu chiefs, and in the case of Muslim chiefs to regulate the succession in any manner sanctioned by Muslim law. The policy of Subordinate Union not only put an end to the policy of annexation but also that of non-intervention. Before 1858, the intervention of the suzerain in the Indian affairs was an exception rather than a general rule. But since that date, it became a regular and normal feature as a matter of course. The changed political, economic and social conditions in the country coupled with other reasons like gross misrule, disputed succession and rebellions organised by the subjects against their respective native rulers forced the Crown as the supreme overlord to intervene in the internal affairs of the native States for maintaining order and good government in the country. This new outlook in the policy of the Crown could be clearly understood from the following cases.

The Baroda Case (1873-75)

The most important case was the Baroda Case. Malhar Rao Gaikwar II of Baroda misgoverned and ill-treated the people. As Colonel Phayre, the Resident, unearthed his evil deeds, the Gaikwar attempted at his life by poisoning his food. Lord Northbrook, the then Viceroy, had the Gaikwar arrested in 1875. A commission was set up to try him. But as the charge of attempted murder was not proved, the Gaikwar was acquitted. Anyhow, he was deposed for his "notorius misconduct and gross

misgovernment". His adopted son Sayaji III (1875-1939) was made the new Gaikwar and Sir T. Madhava Rao was made the Diwan.

The Rendition of Mysore (1881)

The policy adopted towards Mysore clearly demonstrated the desire of the British Government to maintain the separate existence of the states. On grounds of misgovernment, Lord William Bentinck took over the administration of Mysore in 1831. From that time onwards the throne of Mysore remained vacant. It was during the Viceroyalty of Lord Ripon that the rendition of Mysore took place. The adopted son of the deposed Raja was enthroned in 1881, "for reasons never clearly explained".

The Kashmir Case (1889)

In the Kashmir Case, the administration was taken over by the Indian Government in 1889 "for reasons never clearly explained". It was, however, restored to its ruler in 1905.

The Mainpur Case (1891)

The Manipur case is another example to show that misgovernment did not lead to annexation. Sura Chandra, the Maharaja of Manipur, was deposed in 1890 due to a palace revolution instigated by Tikendrajit, the Commander-in-Chief. Sura Chandra sought British help to be reinstated. But the Government of India decided to enthrone his brother, Kula Chandra on his agreeing to carry out some conditions stipulated by the Indian Government. The conditions were that the new Maharaja should carry on the Government on the advice tendered by a British Political Agent. The Political Agent should be permitted to station 300 soldiers in the Residency. Tikendrajit should be expelled from Manipur. The new Maharaja agreed to all the terms. To enforce the conditions, Quinton escorted by a small force reached Manipur. The attempt of Quinton to arrest Tikendrajit failed. The forces of Tikendrajit overpowered the British forces and four Europeans were killed. Subsequently, a military expedition was undertaken to Manipur. Tikendrajit and his accomplices were hanged. Kula Chandra was sentenced to transportation for life. A boy of 5 was placed on the throne in

1891 and the real administration of the country passed into the hands of the British. When the boy King came of age, he assumed the reins of Government in 1907.

The Case of the Khan of Kalat (1892)

The case of the Khan of Kalat is yet another example to show that misgovernment did not lead to annexation. The Khan was a blood-thirsty tyrant. He killed his *wazir* along with his father and son. So the British Government deposed him and enthroned his son in 1892.

Policy of the Company

In 1858 there were nearly 600 states in India. The relations of the Government of India with the petty principalities numbering more than 500 were never clearly defined in writing. With regard to the rest, the relations were well-defined by treaties. But the nature and degree of the treaties differed with different states. States such as Hyderabad entered into relations with the East India Company on equal terms in the first instance. Subsequently, they surrendered some of their rights for, *e. g.*, their foreign policy. The Rajput states maintained their internal autonomy but surrendered their foreign policy to the East India Company. In the case of states such as Mysore, Baroda and Oudh, the British interfered in their internal affairs.

Policy of the Crown

After the transference of power from the Company to the Crown, a uniform policy was adopted to all the states ignoring the varying degrees of differences. When Queen Victoria assumed the title of "Empress of India" in 1877, the rulers of the Indian States were reduced to the status of vassals of the British Sovereign. The paramountcy of the British power was thus asserted. The subordinate status of the Indian rulers was well illustrated in the Instrument of transfer in the case of Mysore. The new ruler of Mysore was expected to "remain faithful in allegiance and subordination to Her Majesty".

During the rule of the Company, it regulated succession to the throne in the case of a ruler dying without issues. Though adoption

was legalised under the rule of the Crown, it was offset by a new provision that every succession has to be recognised by the British Government. So even in cases of legitimate succession, *i. e.*, son succeeding to the father, prior sanction had to be obtained.

During the Company rule, the states were given a free-wheeling in internal administration provided they remained loyal. It was only in extreme cases of misgovernment that the Company interfered and annexed the states. But under the Crown, apart from being loyal, the state was expected to maintain a high standard of administration. The failure to do so would warrant the interference of the paramount power.

Conclusion

Ever since the Crown took over the administration, it was following a policy of benevolent coercion towards the Indian States. The policy reached its climax during the administration of Lord Curzon (1899-1905) when he made "unwarranted encroachments on their (native rulers) hereditary rights under the guise of interpretations and usages". This new outlook in the policy of the British opened the eyes of the native rulers. They began to revive and take stock of the present position. The growth of the National Movement in the country came as a God-send boon to them. So during the administration of Lord Minto II (1905-1910), the successor of Lord Curzon, the policy of "benevolent coercion" was replaced by the policy of friendly co-operation in Imperial policy. He tickled their vanity by seeking their advice in suppressing the growth of National Movement in the country. On the representation of the native Princes, the Chamber of Princes was established by a Royal Proclamation in 1921. The constitution of the Chamber of Princes, gave an opportunity to the princes to ventilate their grievances and obtain even-handed justice. A committee under Sir Harcourt Butler was constituted in 1927 to enquire into the relationship between the native States and the paramount power. The report of the committee categorically stated that the British Crown was the paramount power in the country. It assured the native Princes that the power of the British Crown would not be

transferred to a responsible government in the country without their consent. The Government of India Act 1935, envisaged to form an All India Federation consisting of the British provinces and the native States. But it remained a still-born child as the native rulers refused to join it. The Indian Independence Act of 1947 gave freedom to the native states to accede either to the Indian Dominion or the Dominion of Pakistan.

7. ECONOMIC CONDITION IN THE 19th CENTURY

Trade

The material welfare of the people remained a neglected chapter during the British regime. It was on the last day of December, 1600, that Queen Elizabeth I issued a charter to the British East India Company to carry on trade with the East *i.e.*, between the geographical limits of the Straits of Magellan and the Cape of Good Hope. In the sphere of trade, acute competition prevailed among the British, Portuguese, the Dutch and the French. Portugal was the first country to get dropped from this competition. During the second half of the 18th century, the volume of inland and foreign trade was in the hands of three European powers, *viz.*, England, France and Holland. The lion's share of the trade was in the hands of England. By the end of the 18th century, England completely crushed the remaining two powers. India which was famous for her Dacca muslin, Kashmir shawls, articles of jewellery, ivory works, *etc.*, occupied an enviable position in the trading world. She was carrying on a lucrative trade with the other countries of the world. The Indian trade also began to decline towards the close of the 18th century and the process was completed during the middle of the 19th century. Thus from the beginning of the 19th century, the British East India Company carried on the entire volume of Indian trade. By the Charter Act of 1813, trade with India was thrown open to all British subjects. The Company was deprived of its commercial concessions by the Charter Act of 1833. Though the Company wound up its commercial business, the trade with India was still concentrated

in the hands of British merchants by virtue of their position as the rulers of India and also due to their naval supremacy.

In the second half of the 19th century, the volume of British trade with India increased due to the introduction of free trade by Britain in 1846, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the prevalence of peace and security in India. Before the opening of the Suez Canal, the value of annual trade amounted to 52 lakhs of rupees. But after the opening of the Suez Canal, the average annual value of trade amounted to 200 crores of rupees in 1900 and in 1928-1929 it crossed 600 crores of rupees. The imports of India exceeded exports. The gradual westernisation of India led to a great demand for luxury goods produced by Britain. A great boost was given to inland trade also due to the peace conditions prevailing in the country, the abolition of inland transit duties and the development of the means of transport and communications. The construction of railways, the introduction of the half-anna postage and the construction of telegraphs greatly fecilitated the development of internal trade.

Industry

In their attempt to convert India into a market for British goods, the British government sapped India's own manufacturing industries and gradually transformed India into an agricultural hinterland of Great Britain. Industries were never allowed to raise their heads. British goods flooded the Indian market and crippled the domestic industries.

Before the British took charge of the administration, industries such as cotton, silk, woollen, metal, jewellery, ivory, shipbuilding, *etc.*, flourished in India. But the industries began to decline towards the close of the 18th century and the process was completed towards the middle of 19th century. The decline in the domestic industries was largely due to the following reasons. The surplus money in the country was mopped up by the British in the form of bribes and presents from the Indian rulers. The servants of the East India Company also carried on Private trade. By using their influence, they exploited

the Indian artisans and producers and forced them to undersell their commodities to them. The British Parliament imposed a number of restrictions on Indian producers. The cheap machine-made goods of England flooded the Indian market and crippled the domestic industries, The climate in the country was also not conducive to the growth of industries due to the unsettled conditions, frequent wars, *etc.*

It was only towards the close of the 19th century that some enlightened Indians realised the necessity of industrialising the country, Thanks to their labour, cotton, woollen, jute, iron and steel, paper and leather industries were started. The first big cotton mill was set up in 1854 in Bombay. Before the close of the century, many cotton mills were set up at Ahmedabad, Indore, Sholapur and Nagpur. Many jute mills came up in Bengal. Many woollen mills also sprang up.

Famine

In a predominantly agricultural country like India, famine is a scourge of the greatest magnitude. Famine made frequent visits throwing the economic condition of the country topsy-turvy. Every time a famine broke out, ameliorative measures were undertaken to reduce the rigours of famine. But the measures undertaken were neither uniform nor satisfactory. A famine Commission was appointed in 1880 for the first time during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton to enquire into the causes of famines and suggest remedial measures for future guidance. The Commission's report submitted in 1880 formed the basis of the existing remedial measures.

Transport and Communications

Transport and communications play a vital role in the economic life of a country. In this respect, the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie was unique. He is considered as the father of Indian Railways and Telegraphs. Before he laid down his office, the country was filled with patches of railway lines here and there and new lines were under construction. He also introduced two powerful engines of consolidation—telegraph and the half-ann apostage. He constructed new roads and cansal.

He reorganised and reconstructed the Public Works Department and allotted more funds to public utility schemes. The cheap means of transport and communications unconsciously fostered the bonds of national unity.

The first railway line between Thana and Bombay was opened in 1853. Soon the country was covered with a network of railways. In the beginning, the railways were constructed and managed by private companies. If the profits of the companies fell below 5%, the government guaranteed to compensate the balance. At the same time, if the profits exceeded 5%, the government was entitled to half of the exceess profits. The government was empowered to control the management of railways and purchase them at the expiry of a stipulated period which was usually 25 years. Till the end of the 19th century, the government incurred losses. But profits began to pour in from the 20th century onwards.

The two divisions of water transport in India are the inland water transport along the navigable rivers of India and the marine transport along India's vast coast-line. After the introduction of railways, water transport has dwindled.

To Dalhousie goes the credit of initiating a number of irrigation works. He reorganised and reconstructed the Public Works Department and allotted more funds to public utility schemes. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Lawrence, he inaugurated a new policy by which extensive irrigation schemes were undertaken with the help of public loans. The Agra Canal (1874), the Lower Ganges Canal (1878), and the Sirhind Canal (1882) were the outcome of this scheme. The Lower Chenab Canal was constructed between 1890 and 1899. All these schemes brought vast areas of wasteland under the plough.

Post, Telegraphs and Telephone are effective means of communication. Lord Dalhousie organised the Post and Telegraphs Departments. He is considered as the father of Indian Telegraphs. He introduced the half-anna postage. It was long after the introduction of Post and Telegraphs that the Telephone system was introduced in India.

8. SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS REFORMS

Introduction

Social and religions reforms of a far-reaching nature were introduced in India during the 19th century. The wave of reforms in these two fields became more virulent during the latter half of the 19th century. The impetus for these reforms came from the introduction of English education and the liberal ideas of the West. The fetters of orthodoxy and superstitious belifes broke into pieces and India passed through a period of new awakening.

Religious Movements

The Brahma Samaj

Under the impact of the religious movements of the 19th century, social and religious reforms of a far-reaching nature were introduced in India. Raja Rammohan Roy was the pioneer and prophet in this field. Raja Rammohan Roy (1772/1774-1833) was born in an orthodox Brahmin family in West Bengal. He studied Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and English. He entered the service of the East India Company as a clerk. By his ability, he became the Dewan of a district. He was greatly influenced by European liberalism, Western education, Christian teachings and Mohammedanism. He founded the Brahma Sabha (Association for the worship of God) in 1828. It rejected the authority of the Vedas. It has no belief in avartas, karma and rebirth. It was a church organisation open to all people who believed in one God and who discarded the worship of images. It was Raja Rammohan Roy who gave a helping hand to Bentinck for abolishing sati. The Sabha aimed at improving the position of woman, remarriage of widows, introduction of feamle education, putting down social evils such as purdah system, child-marriage and polygamy and the introduction of English education. He joined with David Carey, a Baptist missionary and started many English Schools including the Hindu College (1817) which later on developed into the Presidency College. After the death of Raja Rammohan Roy in 1833, the Sabha was in doldrums. It was revived by Debendranath Tagore (1817-1905) (father of Rabindranath Tagore) urder the name of Brahma Samaj. He set up the

Tattvabodhini Sabha (Meeting House for the Awakened knowledge of Truth) and started a monthly journal issued by this Sabha called the *Tattvabodhini Patrika*. He gave publicity to the Brahma Samaj through this journal. A valuable recruit to the Samaj in 1857 was Keshab Chandra Sen (1838-1884). Thanks to his work, the number of branches of the Samaj rose to 54. But soon Keshab and his accomplices engaged themselves in advancing advanced social reforms such as inter-caste marriage, widow remarriage, removal of Purdah for women and the removal of the sacred threads by the preachers of the Samaj. The Christian leanings of Keshab led to a split in the Samaj in 1865. Thenceforward the Samaj under the leadership of Debendranath Tagore came to be known as the pro-Hindu Adi Brahma Samaj and that under Keshab the pro-christian Brahma Samaj of India. Thanks to the vigorous propaganda carried on by Keshab, the Civil Marriage Act was passed in 1872. The act abolished polygamy and child-marriage and sanctioned inter-caste marriages and window remarriages. The minimum age of marriage for boys and girls was fixed at 18 and 14 respectively. It has to be clearly borne in mind that this act was not applicable to Hindus and Muslims.

With the advance of age, Keshab the radical became a moderate. He now stood against higher education for girls, the free mingling of men and women and the total abolition of the purdah system. A further rift in the Samaj was brewing. It was precipitated by the marriage of his daughter to the minor Raja of Cooch Bihar, both underaged according to the provisions of the Civil Marriage Act of 1872. So the Samaj again got split up in 1878. The dissidents from the Keshab group came to be known as the Sadharan Brahma Samaj. Thus the three bodies of the Samaj which ultimately came to stay were the pro-Hindu Adi (original) Brahma Samaj, the Brahma Samaj of India centering round Keshab and the pro-Chiristian Sadharan (common) Brahma Samaj. The first two bodies are on the verge of death and the last one is in a decadent state.

The Prarthana Samaj

The Prarthana Samaj (Prayer Society) was founded in Bombay in 1867. The leader of this movement was Dr. Atmaram Pandurang (1823-1898). The Samaj drew its inspiration from the propaganda of Keshab Chandra Sen. Persons such as R. G. Bandarkar, M. G Ranade and Gopala Krishna Gokhale added strength to the movement. The Samaj hinged on theistic worship and social reform. Remaining within the orbit of Hinduism, it wanted to advance social reforms. It followed the beaten track blazed by the saints such as Namdev, Tukaram and Ramdas to attain *bhakti* through *bhajan* or *prarthana*. At the same time, it advocated inter-dining, inter-caste marriage, widow remarriage and improvement of women and the downtrodden classes and abolition of the purdah system and child marriage. The Samajists founded night-schools, a Foundling Asylum and Orphanage, a Depressed Classes mission and other such institutions for the socially backward and downtrodden people. Ranade devoted his whole life to the promotion of the ideals to which the Samaj stood for. He was mainly responsible for the establishment of the Widow Marriage Association of 1861 and the Deccan Education Society of 1884-1885.

The Arya Samaj

The Arya Samaj was founded by Swami Dayananda Saraswathi (1824-1883) in 1875. While the Brahma Samaj and the Prarthana Samaj drew their inspiration from Western culture, the Arya Samaj drew its inspiration from the Vedas. The Swamiji was quite at home in Sanskrit but had no knowledge of English. He regarded the Vedas but discarded the Puranas. His motto was: "Go back to the Vedas". Like Raja Rammohan Roy, he believed in one God and discarded the worship of images. He also preached a militant cult. He encouraged female education, remarriage of widows and equality of sexes and raised his finger of protest against child-marriage, restrictions of caste and prohibition of voyage. The Samajists started a number of "rescue homes for women who have been reduced and abandoned and who have absolutely no place in orthodox Hindu Society". While the appeal of Raja Rammohan Roy

reached the classes that of the Swamiji reached the masses. The Swamiji started a Suddhi movement to convert non-Hindus to Hinduism. The movement greatly helped the cause of the unification of India socially and politically. After his death, his work was continued by his followers such as Lala Hansraj, Pandit Guru Dutt, Lala Lajpat Rai and Swami Sraddhananda. The value of English education was realised by his followers especially Lala Hansraj. He founded the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic school Lahore which soon developed into a college.

The Ramakrishna Mission

The Ramakrishna Mission named after Ramakrishna Paramahamsa (1836-1886) drew its inspiration from the ancient culture of India. Ramakrishna Paramahamsa was born in an orthodox Brahmin family in Bengal in 1836. From very early days, he was of a religious bent of mind. At the age of 23, he married Saradamani Devi a girl of five. He was a devotee of Goddess Kali. He had visions of Rama, Krishna, Siva, Kali, Allah and Jesus. This convinced him that there is only one God and the different forms of God are only but different manifestations. The mystic saint by his pithy sayings and admirable parables gathered round him a band of followers. His most famous disciple was Narendranath Dutta (1863-1902) better known as Swami Vivekananda. His piercing personality and spirited exposition of the Vedanta earned for him name and fame. His brilliant exposition of Hinduism in the "Parliament of Religions" at Chicago in 1893 won for him universal fame. Branches of the Ramakrishna Mission were set up in the United States. Among the European followers of the Swamiji, Margaret Noble (Sister Nivedita) was one. The Ramakrishna Mission is a monastic order which runs a number of educational institutions and hospitals.

The Theosophical Society

The Theosophical Society was founded in the U.S.A. in 1875 by Madame Blavatsky and Col. Olcott. Its headquarters was set up at Adayar in 1886. Thanks to the work of Mrs. Annie Besant, the Society made rapid progress. The Society preached "a Hindu revivalism in a European garb". Mrs. Besant started the Central

Hindu school in Benaras which later on developed into the Benaras Hindu University. The Society has played a leading role in the Indian Renaissance.

Other Movements

Even after the introduction of English education, the Muslims remained indifferent to the study of English. So politically, socially and economically, they remained backward. It was Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) who brought about a complete change in the outlook of the Muslims. He fought against the evil practices prevalent among the Muslims such as the purdah system and polygamy. He exhorted the Muslims to study English. He started a magazine called Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq (Reforms of Morals) in 1870. He reformed the Muslim society through his writings in the Magazine. He started a school at Aligarh on modern lines. It soon developed into the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College. It was he who said that the Hindus and Muslims are "two eyes of the beautiful bride that was India". He did yeomen service for uplifting the Muslims. Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) did his utmost to give what was best in eastern and western thought. He won the Nobel prize for literature in 1913 for his immortal work Gitanjali. The Visva Bharati University which he inaugurated at Santiniketan in 1924 still stands as an all-India and international centre of culture. Gandhiji(1869-1948), the Father of the Indian Nation, was the apostle of truth and non-violence. He identified himself fully with the common man in India. He discarded western clothing and took to his loin cloth. This earned for him the caustic comment of Churchill—the half-naked fakir. He lived up to,the ideal of "simple living and high thinking". He is the greatest social reformer that the world has ever seen. His fight for the cause of Harijans smashed the citadels of Hindu orthodoxy. He flung open the temples for the entry of the Harijans, eradicated untouchability and removed many other disabilities. With malice towards none and with charity for all, the Mahatma toiled for the good of humanity with his weapons of truth, reason and peaceful determination. In the words of Albert Einstein. "Generations to come will scarcely believe that

such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth".

Social Reforms

Infanticide was an inhuman practice prevalent among some Hindus. A woman not blessed with children for a number of years used to take a vow that if she had more than one child, one would be offered to Mother Ganges. Infanticide of a more cruel nature and more widely spread prevailed among the Rajputs, Jats and Mewats' in Central and Western India. The huge expenditure involved in marrying off girls often led parents to kill them during infancy. The usual practice resorted to was to poison the nipples of the mothers, breasts. Both these forms of infanticide were prohibited by acts passed in 1802 and 1795 respectively. The practice of Sati or self-immolation of Hindu widows on the funeral-pyre of their husbands was an inhuman custom prevalent among the Hindus form time immemorial. Bentinck abolished Sati in 1829 in the teeth of the opposition of the people. Enlightened Indians like Raja Rammohan Roy supported the measure. Bentinck suppressed the Thugs. They were a gang of hereditary robbers who strangled peaceful and innocent travellers. They perpetrated all these atrocities under the guise of propitiating Goddess Kali. Bentinck succeeded to a great extent in suppressing female infanticide which existed in Rajputana, the Punjab, Malwa, Cutch and Kathiawar. He also checked human sacrifices among some tribes in Madras. Lord Hardinge (1844-48) who succeeded Ellenborough effectively prohibited the practice of sati and female infanticide in the native States. Hitherto the restriction was imposed only on British territory. He took severe measures to put an end to the practice of human sacrifice among the Khonds of Orissa. It was the introduction of English education that led to many sweeping social and religious reforms. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar (1820-1891) of Bengal, Veeresalingam Pantulu (1848-1919), "the father of Social Reform and Literary Renaissance" in Andhra Pradesh and Pandita Ramabai (1858-1922) of Maharashtra gave wide publicity to the remarriage of widows. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar was mainly responsible for passing the Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act in 1856. Thanks to the

vigorous propaganda carried on by Keshab, the Civil Marriage Act was passed in 1872. The act abolished polygamy and child marriage and sanctioned inter-caste marriages and widow remarriages. The minimum age of marriage for boys and girls was fixed at 18 and 14 respectively. As this act was not applicable to Hindus and Muslims, the Age of Consent Act was passed in 1891, applicable to them. Behramji Merwanji Malabari, a Parsee, was instrumental in passing this act. The act applicable to girls, raised the age of consent from 10 to 12 years. Prof. D.K. Karve founded the Widows' Home in Poona in 1896 and in 1898 Veeresalingam Pantulu founded a similar Home in Madras. The Sarda Act of 1929 fixed the lowest limit of age for marriage at 14 for girls and 18 for boys. In 1949 the Sarda Act was amended raising the marriageable age of girls from 14 to 15 years. In 1975, by an act passed by the Parliament, the marriageable age has been raised to 18 for girls and 21 for boys.

Women's education was promoted thanks to the work of many people. Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar founded nearly 35 girls' schools between 1857 and 1858. Indian Womens' Association founded since 1917 is doing yeomen service for the cause of female education. Slavery was abolished in India in 1843. Slave trade was made an offence under the Penal Code enacted in 1860. Dr.S. Muthulakshmi Reddi (1886-1968) of Tamil Nadu toiled for the abolition of the Devadasi system. The Devadasi system was declared illegal by an act passed by the government in the first decade of the 20th century. Gandhiji eradicated untouchability and worked for uplifting Harijans. Amritlal Vithaldas Thakkar founded the Bhil Seva Mandal in 1922 for the upliftment of the Bhils and other aboriginals of India. The message of Sree Narayana Guru (1854-1928) of Kerala "One caste, One religion, and One god for all" became the catchword of a new National Culture. E. V Ramaswami Naicker (1879-1973) preached against blind orthodox and the removal of social inequalities.

CHAPTER VI

INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Introduction

The impact of Western education and philosophy spread the ideas of democracy and nationalism in the minds of the people. Raja Rammohan Roy was the first exponent of nationalist ideas in India. He has been rightly called the "prophet of Indian Nationalism". He preached a crusade against social evils such as sati, purdah system, child marriage, polygamy and enforced widowhood. He fought for famale education and the introduction of English education. Thanks to his vigorous propaganda, the fetters of orthodoxy and superstitious beliefs broke into pieces and India passed through a period of new awakening. Though he died in 1833, the spirit which he aroused in the minds of the people lived after him. In 1835 English became the official language and the medium of instruction in Colleges. In a way it proved to be a blessing in disguise. English supplied "the language of unity and structure of unity". In the words of Roberts: "we attempted to raise a race of administrators on the literature of revolt". The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 can in no way be called the "First War of Indian Independence" because it was instigated by vested interests with selfish motives and the entire nation did not back the movement. Anyhow, it served as an eye-opener to the people. It constantly dinned into their ears the dictum that "United we stand, but divided we fall".

While the country was passing through a period of crisis, the religious reformers of the 19th century such as Raja Rammohan Roy, Debendranath Tagore, Keshab Chandra Sen, Dayananda Saraswathi and Swami Vivekananda created the necessary climate for the growth of Indian nationalism. The growth of political consciousness in a country is impossible without social and religious reformation. These reformers brought about such a social and religious reformation that the fetters of orthodoxy and superstitious beliefs broke into pieces and India passed through a

period of awakening. The leaders of the Theosophical Society such as Madame Blavatsky, Col. Olcott and Mrs. Annie Besant were foreigners. They took a leading part in bringing about a new awakening in India. When these foreigners paid glowing tributes to the culture of India, it aroused the national and patriotic fervour of the people.

The Indian Press and Literature constributed a great deal to arouse the national consciousness of the people. The Press served as the mouthpiece of India's feelings and aspirations during and before the freedom struggle. In the last quarter of the 19th century, the contribution of Bengali literature more than any other literature was immense in arousing the national and patriotic fervour of the people. The writings of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Hem Chandra, and Rabindranath Tagore, to mention a few of them, lit the flames of nationalism. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's famous novel *Anandamath* contains the hymn "Bande Mataram". "Bande Mataram" remained the patriotic cry and the national anthem from 1905 to 1947.

The high-sounding words of the Charter Act of 1833 and the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 in connection with the appointment of Indians to higher posts remained as mere words without any practical effect. A concrete example was the case of Surendranath Banerjee. He got through the I.C.S. examination. But his name was struck off from the eligibles. He fought out and won his case in a court in England and got his appointment. But on some flimsy pretext, he was dismissed from service. The injustice meted out to him stung him to the quick. He girded up his loins to fight against such injustice. He founded the Indian Association in 1876 at Calcutta to focus the attention and voice the opinion of the Indians against the injustice meted out to them. The reduction of the age of entrants in the I.C.S. from 21 to 19 in 1877 created bitter feelings. The Indian Association opposed the measure tooth and nail. To mobilise public opinion against the measure, Surrendranath Banerjee

undertook a tour to different parts of the country. He kindled the national consciousness of the people by his patriotic speeches.

Many other disabilities were also put on the Indians. The Arms Act of 1878 imposed restrictions on the possession of arms by Indians. The Vernacular Press Act passed in the same year vigorously censored the vernacular papers. The Ilbert bill of 1883 aimed at removing the discriminating procedure in criminal cases empowering Indian judges to try European criminals. But as the bill was vehemently opposed by the European community, a compromise was effected by which the Europeans could claim trial by jury in which half of the jurors were to be Europeans or Americans. The controversial Ilbert Bill further intensified the racial animosity and embittered the feelings of the Indians. In the economic field, the Britishers remained indifferent to the economic prosperity of the country. In their attempt to convert India into a market for British goods, the British government sapped India's own manufacturing industries and gradually transformed India into an agricultural hinterland of Great Britain. Agriculture in British India was a depressed industry. Industries were never allowed to raise their heads. British goods flooded the Indian market and crippled the domestic industries.

Birth of the Indian National Congress (1885)

The ingredients for the formation of a national organisation were already present in India. Surendranath Banerjee founded the Indian Association consisting of educated Indians in 1876 to focus thet attention and voice the opinion of Indians against the unjust measures of the British. While the country was thus passing through a period of political awakening, Mr. Allan Octavian Hume, a retired British Civilian exhorted the graduates of the Calcutta University through an open letter in 1883 "to organise an association for the mental, moral, social and political regeneration of the people of India". It had the desired effect. With the help of some enthusiastic Indians, A.O. Hume formed the Indian National Congress in 1885 during the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin. The first meeting of the Indian National Congress was held at Bombay

in 1885. It is worth mentioning here that the embryo of Indian Nationalism had already been formed in the womb of Mother India and the part played by A. O. Hume was that of a nurse to safely usher in the babe of Indian Nationalism from the womb of Mother India. The second meeting of the Indian Association was also held at about the same time. As the views of both the organisations were identical, the Indian Association merged with the Indian National Congress. With it dawned a new era in the political history of India. The first Congress was presided over by W.C. Banerjee and it contained about 72 delegates. As time went on, the number swelled. The national movement was first confined to the educated classes only. Later on it spread to all classes. The national movement may be studied under three stages—the period of Moderate Nationalism (1885-1905), Militant Nationalism and the rise Muslim Communalism (1905-1920) and the Gandhian Era (1920-1947).

(1) Moderate Nationalism (1885-1905)

The story of the Indian National Congress began with a note of moderation. In the beginning, it criticised the government and demanded reforms. It put forward its views in the form of resolutions. It criticised the Arms Act and the Excise and Salt tax. The reforms demanded by the Congress were the development of self-government through representative councils both at the centre and the provinces, abolition of the India Council, promotion of education, reduction of military expenditure, separation of judicial and executive functions and greater employment opportunities for Indians in Public Services by conducting simultaneous examinations both in England and India. In criticising the policy of the government, the language used by the Congress was couched in a dignified and moderate style. The attitude adopted by the government towards the Congress was friendly in the beginning, but later on turned out to be hostile.

The resolutions sent by the Congress were received and recorded but never responded to. So the Congress started the constitutional agitation both at home and England to mobilise public,

opinion. The agitation carried on by the Congress for greater representation and expansion of the Legislative Councils both Supreme and Provincial led to the passing of the Indian Councils Act of 1892. The Act fell short of the expectations of the leaders of the Indian National Congress. They carried on incessant agitation against the Government with the view of wresting more political concessions.

Militant Nationalism, Muslim Communalism (1905-20)

The grand victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 acted as an intoxicant to spur further the activities of the Indian National Congress. The ill-treatment meted out to the Indians in South Africa created a commotion in India and exercised a profound influence on the future course of the National Movement in India. Bal Gangadhara Tilak, the editor of a Marathi Paper —Kesari— became the leader of the National Movement in the 19th century. Through press and platform, he lit the flames of patriotism throughout the country. Tilak, "the Father of Indian Revolution", declared: "Swaraj is my birthright and I will have it". The partition of Bengal effected in 1905, marked a turning point in the course of events. The partition effected during the time of Lord Curzon wounded the feelings of both the Hindus and Muslims. A vigorous campaign was started against the partition under the leadership of Surendranath Banerjee and Bepin Chandrapal. The Bengalis not only adopted boycott of British goods as a political weapon but also indulged in organised loot and arson. The government in order to woo the Muslims pointed out that now they had a separate Muslim Province in Eastern Bengal. The Muslims misunderstood the official version of the statement and indulged in looting Hindu shops and demolishing Hindu temples. The partition of Bengal paved the way for the rise of an extremist section in the Congress. The extremist section was represented by people such as Tilak, Bepin Chandrapal, and Lajpat Raj. The moderate section was voiced by Gopalakrishna Gokhale, Pherozeshah Mehta and Surendranath Banerjee. A split in the Congress was, however, averted in 1906 by the timely interference of Dadabhai Naoroji, the then President of

the Congress. He effected a compromise between the two sections and it was in favour of the Extremists. But the rift became very serious and in the Surat session of 1907, the split became open and the Extremists kept out of the Congress for 9 years.

When confusion thus baffled Congress circles, it was further confounded by the demand of Muslims under His Highness the Aga Khan in 1906 for separate electorates for the Muslims. The spade work for this was already done by Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (1817-1898) who brought about a complete change in the outlook of the Muslims. He started a school at Aligarh on modern lines. It soon developed into the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College. It was he who said that the Hindus and Muslims are "two eyes of the beautiful bride that was India". He did yeomen service for uplifting the Muslims. But in spite of his ardent patriotism and liberal views, he stood against the Congress movement. He exhorted the Muslim to keep aloof from it. He sowed the seeds for keeping the Muslims as a separate class. In 1906, Salimullah, the Nawab of Dacca, founded the Muslim League.

The history of the national movement from 1907-1916 was marred by terrorist activities. The terrorists used force and violence to achieve their ends. It resulted in a number of untoward incidents throughout the length and breadth of India. The Government inaugurated a series of repressive measures to curb the activities of the Extremists in the Congress. The passing of Prevention of Seditions Meeting Act 1907, the Explosive Substances Act 1908 and the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1908 attempted to curb the fundamental rights of the people. Side by side with the repressive measures, the Government followed a policy of reform to placate the Moderates in the Congress and division to isolate the Muslims. It was under such circumstances that the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 was passed. It expanded the Legislative Council and introduced separate electorates for Muslims. In 1911, the partition of Bengal was done away with and this was considered as a success for Indian nationalism. The Morley-Minto Reforms did not satisfy the basic demands of the leaders. They were thoroughly disappointed. Popular risings occured in many places in India. The British

ruthlessly suppressed all these revolts. Tension mounted up. World War I further worsened the situation.

The year 1916 was memorable in the history of the Indian National Movement. As Britian waged war against Turkey, it created an anti-British feeling among the Muslims in India, It led to the co-operation of the Congress and the Muslim League. Both the Congress and the League convened their sessions at Lucknow in 1916 and concluded the "Lucknow Pact". By the pact, the Congress agreed to separate electorates and the League in its turn promised to co-operate with the Congress to achieve self-government. It was again in the year 1916 that the Moderates and the Extremists of the Congress united together. The Home Rule Movement was also started in 1916 by Tilak in the month of April and by Annie Besant after five months.

The help rendered by India to Britain during the war, the new turn in the Home Rule campaign, the Russian Revolution of 1917 and political pressure at home made the British Government take up the question of reform quickly. Montague, the Secretary of State for India, issued the August Declaration of 1917. The aim of the Declaration was "to give greater representation for the Indians in every branch of administration and the realisation of responsible Government". On the basis of the Declaration, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms was passed in 1919. It introduced 'Diarchy' in the provinces. But the reforms fell short of the ideal and the leaders of all sections were not satisfied with these reforms.

Gandian Era (1920-1947)

Rowlatt Act and Jalianwalla Bagh

Gandhiji returned from South Africa in 1915. He took up the leadership of the Indian National Movement in 1919. Under his inspring leadership, the movement made rapid progress. His weapons of Non-Co-operation, Civil Disobedience and Satyagraha paid rich dividends. The Rowlatt Act of 1919 armed the government with arbitrary powers to deal with political offenders. Mahatma Gandhi strongly condemned the Act and appealed to the people to

observe hartal and Satyagraha to protest against it. But the Non-violent Non Co-operation led to destruction of life and property. Gandhiji was put under arrest. The situation became explosive in Amritsar. All public meetings were prohibited. But in defiance of the order, a crowd gathered in an enclosed place at Jalianwalla Bagh. Without warning, bullets were showered on the crowd under the orders of Dyer. Some hundreds died and many were wounded.

Khilafat Movement

After the First World War, Turkey, the sickman of Europe, was humbled and dismembered. This wounded the feelings of the Muslims in India and they started the Khilafat Movement under the leadership of the Ali brothers (Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali). Gandhiji found the time opportune to unite the Hindus and Muslims. So he made common cause with the Muslims. Riots broke out culminating in the Chauri Chaura incident in 1922 in which 22 policemen including a police-Inspector were burnt to death. The Khilafat Movement died out immediately after the fall of the Khilafat (Caliphate) in Turkey.

Non-Co-operation Movement

As the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms fell short of the ideal, the Congress under the inspiring leadership of Gandhiji adopted the resolution on Non-Co-operation in 1920. Renunciation of Government titles and boycott of legislatures and educational institutions formed part of the movement. The Non-Co-operation movement started by Gandhiji paid rich dividends. The majority of the people boycotted the elections under the new constitution. Popular risings spread throughout the country against foreign rule. Students came out of schools and colleges. Distinguished lawyers such as C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru who were having a princely at the bar left their legal profession. English clothes were burnt. The Chauri Chaura incident greatly wounded the feelings of Gandhiji and he suspended the Non-Co-operation Movement. In spite of that, he was sentenced to undergo imprisonment for six years.

The Swarajya Party

After the suspension of the Non-Co-operation Movement, a wing of the Congress under the leadership of C.R. Das and Motilal Nehru kept the torch of national movement burning. They formed the Swarajya party. The policy of the party was to secure seats in the Legislative Councils and then wreck the Government from with in. The Swarajists entered the Central Council in 1923 by capturing more than one-third of the seats. They carried on a systematic campaign of criticising the government and obstructing the routine work of the government by merging forces with like-minded parties. Their tactics yielded the desired results in the beginning. But the growth of Hindu-Muslim discord and the Governmental majority altered the situation.

Simon Commission

The unsatisfactoriness of Reforms of 1919 coupled with the stand taken by the Swarajya party made the parliament enquire into its working. In 1927 it appointed a Commission under Simon to study the situation. As no Indian was represented in the Commission, it was boycotted by all the parties when the Commission arrived at India in 1928. The Commission in its report published in 1930 recommended "Provincial Autonomy" for India.

Civil Disobedience Movement, Gandhi-Irwin Pact, Round Table Conferences

The Congress set as its goal *Purna Swaraj* or complete independence and 26th January, 1930 was declared the Independence Day. Gandhiji started the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930 by his famous march to Dandi to prepare salt from sea water in violation of the salt law. He and many other Congress leaders were arrested. But the movement gathered fresh momentum. So the Gandhi-Irwin pact was signed in 1931. Gandhiji promised to discontinue the Civil Disobedience Movement. Irwin in his turn withdrew

all repressive measures and released all political prisoners. The First Round Table Conference was held at London in 1930-31 to discuss the Simon Commission Report. But the Congress boycotted it. The second Round Table Conference (1931) was attended by Gandhiji. But nothing was achieved by it. The Third Round Table Conference (1932) was not attended by the Congress.

Govt. of India Act 1935, Cripps' Mission, Quit India

The Government of India Act 1935 introduced 'Provincial Autonomy'. It fell short of the expectations of the people. When the Second World War broke out in 1939, the Congress expressed its unwillingness to fight on the ground that the people were not consulted and it resigned from the ministries of the seven provinces. The Japanese victories in the early stages of the war made the British Government send Sir Stafford Cripps to negotiate with Indian leaders. The Cripps' Mission offered 'Dominion Status' to India with power to break away from the British Commonwealth. Gandhiji called the offer "a post-dated cheque" on a crashing bank. The congress adopted the "Quit India" resolution in 1942. Gandhiji and other leaders were arrested. This was a sufficient provocation for disturbances and disorders throughout the Country. The people committed assaults, arson and destruction to property. The movement lasted for 5 months. Many people laid down their lives. The movement died out by the end of August, 1942.

Netaji and the Indian National Army

The part played by Subash Chandra Bose in infusing a new life into the minds of the people cannot be undermind. He escaped from India in 1941. He made contacts with Germany and Japan. When Malaya fell into the hands of the Japanese, a number of Indian soldiers became prisoners. By an agreement entered into with Japanese government, Subash Chandra Bose thenceforward known as Netaji organised them into the Azad Hindu Fouj (Indian National Army).

He established the Government of free India in Singapore. The Japanese forces along with the I.N.A. marched towards the frontiers of India. Though the invasion was repulsed by the British, the menace posed by the I.N.A. was a serious threat to the safety of the British in India.

Gandhi-Jinnah Talks

The Muslim League founded in 1906, became very powerful under the leadership of Muhammad Ali Jinnah and demanded a separate State for the Muslims. Gandhi was released from the prison in 1944. The Gandhi-Jinnah talk took place in 1944. Gandhiji agreed to the formation of Pakistan on condition that a plebiscite should be held in the North-east and North-west where the Muslims had a majority and the Hindu and Muslim states should enter into an agreement connected with matters of mutual interest such as defence, commerce and communications. But as Jinnah was against conducting a plebiscite, the talks ended in failure.

Wavell plan (1945)

Viceroy Wavell put forward a proposal to leave the Executive Council in the hands of Indians with the exception of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief. He convened a conference at Simla to select the personnel. But as the Congress and the Muslim League stood divided in the manner of selection of the personnel, the plan came to nothing.

Cabinet Mission

The Labour Government under Attlee sent a Cabinet Mission in 1946 to find a meeting-ground between the Hindus and Muslims. The Mission proposed an interim-government representing all parties till transfer of power. It also proposed the setting up of an elected Constituent Assembly to draw up a Constitution for India. The Muslim League welcomed the offer. The Congress agreed to contest the elections and participate in the Constituent Assembly

but refused to join the interim - government. The Muslim League expected that it would be called upon by the Viceroy to form the interim-government. But Viceroy Wavell disallowed such a step as the Congress did not participate in it. He renewed his offer to the Congress on August 12 to form the interim-government which it accepted. The League got irritated and entered into "Direct Action" on August 16. Communal riots began in Calcutta between Hindus and Muslims resulting in loss of life and damage to property. It gradually spread to Bihar and Bombay. The Hindus also resorted to stabbing Muslims. This fratricidal feud ended only in October with the League entering the interim-government. The League insisted for a separate State and boycotted the Constituent Assembly. When the prospects of forming Pakistan became bleak, the League once again launched into "Direct Action". Communal riots again broke out in the country. It wrought untold misery on both Hindus and Muslims. While Gandhiji said "Quit India", Jinnah said "Divide and Quit India".

The Mountbatten Plan (1947)

The constitutional deadlock lingered on. Viscount Mountbatten who succeeded Lord Wavell as Viceroy submitted his plan to the British Parliament and it was passed and it became law on 18th July, 1947. The plan was to divide India into India and Pakistan. It contained the following proposals. Punjab and Bengal were to be partitioned. Whether the North-West Frontier Province should accede to India or Pakistan was to be decided by a referendum. A Boundary Commission was to be appointed to demarcate the territories of India and Pakistan in Punjab and Bengal. To give effect to the above-mentioned proposals, a bill would be rushed through parliament. The plan was accepted by both parties. Pakistan was granted independence on 14th August, 1947, and India on 15 August, 1947. Earl Mountbatten became the first Governor-General of Independent India and Jinnah became the first President of Pakistan. The course of events and as matters stood, made partition quite inevitable.

Part played by Tamil Nadu in the Freedom Struggle

In a true account of the part played by Tamil Nadu in the freedom struggle, the endeavours of Vira Pandia Kattabommen, Oomathurai, Gopala Nayak and Marudu Pandian should form a prologue. Quite unfortunately the valiant resistance of these early martyrs occurred at the most inopportune moment. It came in between the final overthrow and death of Tipu Sultan of Mysore in 1799 and the outbreak of the Second Anglo-Maratha War in 1803. Kattabommen, the Poligar of Panchalankurichi suffered abject humiliation at the hands of the British more than once for non-payment of the arrears of tribute. He put up a valiant resistance against the British by organising a league of the Poligars against the Company in 1798. The British stormed the fortress of Panchalankurichi. It was only after sustaining heavy losses that the British were able to effect a breakthrough in the citadel. Kattabommen evacuated the fort. Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman, the Raja of Pudukottai captured Kattabommen and duly handed him over to the British. He was executed on 17th October, 1799 at Kayattar. He died an early martyr to the cause of freedom in Tamil Nadu.

Oomathurai, the deaf and dumb brother of Kattabommen was the master-mind behind the anti-British reaction of 1799. Adored and respected by his people, he was more conspicuous and colourful than Kattabommen. For achieving wreckless and daring deeds, he was second to none. After the execution of Kattabommen, Oomathurai along with others was imprisoned in Palayamkottai. The escapade of Oomathurai from the prison is one of the romances in the history of the freedom struggle. He returned to Panchalankurichi and carried aloft the banner of revolt. But eventually Panchalankurichi fell. Oomathurai miraculously escaped and joined the ranks of Marudu Pandian of Sivaganga. After putting up a valiant resistance against the British along with Marudu Pandian, he was executed on 16th November, 1801.

Gopala Nayak, the Poligar of Virupakshi in Dindigul, played a leading role in organising the Dindigul Conspiracy against the British along with Marudu Pandian and others. Though the

conspiracy sparked off well, the rebellion came to grief. Gopala Nayak was executed in November 1801.

Marudu Pandian or Chinna Marudu, the minister of the Raja of Sivaganga was undoubtedly the greatest of the early leaders who spearheaded the formation of the anti-British front. Though the British suffered reverses in the beginning, the cause of the rebellion was lost due to the activities of fifth columns. Marudu Pandian's Tiruchi Proclamation alone is quite sufficient to vindicate the fact that he was a national hero. The proclamation was a clarion-call to all the inhabitants of India to rise in arms against the British and extirpate them root and branch. In spite of his heroic and gallant resistance against the British, the techniques adopted by the British to suppress the rebellion gathered grotesque momentums. He was hunted from forest to forest and finally hounded into the prison. This popular figure of Sivaganga and the patriotic son of India was executed on 24th October, 1801.

The Vellore Sepoy Mutiny of 1806 was the last flicker in the saga of the struggle for freedom in Tamil Nadu in the earlier stages. The Mutiny was however suppressed.

By the beginning of the 19th century, the British East India Company had consolidated its position farther south. The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 did not spread to places south of the Narbada. The impact of Western education and philosophy profoundly influenced the people of Tamil Nadu also. It generated the ideas of democracy and nationalism in their minds. The national movement was first confined to the educated classes only. Later on it spread to all classes. The three stages of Moderate Nationalism (1885-1905), Militant Nationalism (1905-1920) and the Gandhian Era (1920-1947) in the Indian National Movement were reflected in Tamil Nadu also.

Dr. S. Subramania Iyer (1842-1924), "the grand old man of South India" was one of the "brave 72" who founded the Indian National Congress in 1885. He played a leading role in the establishment of the Indian National Congress and was intimately connected with it for over a decade until he was appointed a Judge of the

Madras High Court. He had the courage to write a letter in 1917 to President Wilson of the United States of America describing the legitimate aspirations of the people of India and the misrule of the British in India. Though the letter did not yield any immediate results, it produced a chain reaction which quickened the pace of India's march towards freedom.

In the twenties parliamentarians such as Sir P.S. Sivaswamy Iyer, the Rt. Hon. V.S. Sriniva Sastri, T. Rangachariar and T.V. Seshagiri Iyer and after 1924 A. Rangaswamy Iyengar, S. Srinivasa Iyengar and R.K. Shanmughom Chetty and at a still later period S. Satyamurthi, A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar, and C. Rajagopalachari did yeomen service for the cause of freedom. The norms set by Sir P.S. Sivaswamy Iyer though quite different from those who came in a succeeding generation were noted for their personal integrity. The impact of such a man left a lasting impression on India's public life. The "Swedesamitran" under the editorship of A. Rangaswamy Iyengar became the leading organ of Indian Nationalism in Tamil. He also served as the editor of the Hindu for some-time. Satyamurthy, the eloquent speaker, became the political guru of Rajagopalachari and Kamaraj.

Tamil Nadu was not lacking in terrorist nationalists. Vanchi Iyer (1880-1911) was a young man of extremely violent nature and terrorist inclinations. He had the utmost contempt for Europeans. He shot dead Ashe, tne District Magistrate of Tirunelveli, at Maniyachi Junction on 11th June, 1911. To avoid ignominy, he committed suicide. Nilakanta Brahmachari, a native of Erikkur in Srikali taluk, was also a revolutionary nationalist. He exhorted the people to adopt violent and anarchist methods. He was the first accused in the Ashe murder case of 1911. He was the brain behind the Moplah rebellion of 1922. V.V. Subramania Iyer (1881-1925) was also a revolutionary nationalist.

Subramania Bharathi (1882-1921) of Ettayapuram gave a spiritual twist to the Indian thirst for freedom. His powerful

lyrics which are to be found in "Swadesa Gitangal" and "Janma Bhoomi" provoked the patriotic fervour of the people. He was one of the earliest nationalists of the true order. He considered India as one indivisible whole. Eschewing parochialism and regionalism, he spread the ideas of nationalism through his poems and prose writings. He lit the flame of patriotism thoughout Tamil Nadu by his spirited songs.

In V.O. Chidambaram Pillai (1872-1936) of Tuticorin, a lawyer of great repute, we find a typical example of a militant nationalist. He came under the spell of Tilak, "the Father of Indian Revolution", who thundered "Swaraj is my birth-right and I will have it". He delivered many speeches on the Swedeshi movement. He hated everything alien. He floated a Steam Navigation Company in 1906 which started a regular service between Tuticorin and Colombo. So he earned the nickname "Kappalottiya Tamilan". Before the Surat split in 1907, V.O.C. was arrested on a charge of sedition and sentenced for life which was later reduced to 6 years. Behind bars, he underwent many hardships. When the leadership of the Congress changed nands from the Extremists to Gandhi and his followers in 1920, V.O.C. had no part to play in it. But his life left an indelible mark on moulding the South Indian character as a living force in the protracted struggle for national Independence.

In Subramania Siva (1884-1925), a great nationalist and patriot reared in the political school of Tilak, we find an example of an extremist turned moderate. He was greatly influenced by Subramania Bharathi, V.O.C., Tilak and others. Through his speeches, he exhorted the people to rise against the British. He was arrested on a charge of sedition in 1908 and sentenced to six years' imprisonment. In the prison, he contracted leprosy. Though he was a revolutionary, he had the practical wisdom to switch over to Gandhian ideals in the light of the changed order. He joined the Non-Co-operation Movement of Gandhiji in 1921, courted arrest and underwent two years', rigorous imprisonment.

Chandran

Causes of Indian Freedom struggle.

In Tiruppur Kumaran (1904-1932), we find the example of silent but spirited patriotism. He was a true follower of Mahatma Gandhi. While engaged in non-violent Satyagragha, he sustained lathi charges and succumbed to the injuries.

C. Rajagopalachari (1879-1972) played a leading a role in the freedom struggle. He joined the Non-Co-operation Movement of Gandhiji in 1919 and devoted his entire energies to Gandhiji's constructive programmes and did everything to challenge the British might on the legislative front.

K. Kamaraj (1903-1975), the idol of the comman man, entered the freedom struggle when he was hardly 15 years old. He came under the influence of Gandhiji. At the age of 18, he responded to Gandhiji's call for Non-Co-operation. He carried on vigorous propaganda in the villages. At the age of 20, Satyamurthy became his political guru. In 1930 Kamaraj participated in the Salt Satyagrapha movement at Vedaranyam. He courted arrest many times. He did yeomen service for the cause of Indian freedom.

M. Bhaktavatsalam, E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker, T. V. Avinashilingam Chettiar and a host of others played a leading role in the freedom stuggle. Many patriots laid down their lives for the cause of Indian freedom. When the freedom movement gained momentum in India as a whole, Tamil Nadu did not lag behind. She also responded to the call of the Mahatma in all his constructive movement such as the Non-Co-operation Movement, the Civil Disobedience Movement andthe Quit India move and extended her unstinted co-operation to the cause of freedom through her patriots. So the contribution of Tamil Nadu in the freedom struggle was in no way mean and it should not be underestimated.

தேசிய சுதந்திரப் போராட்டத்தில் தமிழ்நாடு பெரும் பங்கு
கொண்டுள்ளது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.

CHAPTER VII

CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT FROM 1857-1950

1. TRANSFER OF POWER FROM THE COMPANY TO THE CROWN

The transfer of power from the Company to the Crown was the logical outcome of the clear assertion of the sovereignty of the Crown made in the various Charter Acts. The Charter Act of 1813 reduced the Company to the position of a trustee to the Crown. While the previous Charter Acts stipulated a time-limit to the Company for the enjoyment of commercial and political concessions, the Charter Act of 1833 deprived the Company of its Commercial concessions and no time-limit was specified for the grant of territories to the Company. It simply stated that the Company would be in possession of the Indian territories and their revenues "until Parliament should otherwise direct". So the political extinction of the Company was only a question of time.

It was a chain of events and not an isolated incident like the Sepoy Mutiny that led to the political extinction of the Company. Though the Mutiny furnished the most weighty reason for the discontinuance of the Company's administration, the seeds for the dismemberment had been sown long ago before the final consummation. Even before the passing of the Regulating Act of 1773, the question of territorial sovereignty of the Company was mooted and political circles in England opined that the sovereignty of so large a territory should not be left in the hands of a commercial concern. It was only matters of political expediency that stood in the way of the peculiar coustitutional anomaly created by the possession of territories by a commercial concern. The British Parliament contented itself by regulating the affairs of the Company by passing the famous Regulating Act of 1773. A systematic control over the affairs of the Company started with the passing of the Pitt's India Act of 1784. Real power passed into the hands of the Board of Control leaving the Company to the position of a mere quasi-state department. Every successive act of the British Parliament since the passing of the Pitt's India Act dealt blow after blow on the already

dwindling powers of the Company. The last but one nail on the coffin of the Company's administration was driven by the Charter Act of 1853. It deprived the Court of Directors, the power of patronage, the only surviving glamour to that office.

The establishment of a double system of government at home set up by the Pitt's India Act of 1784 for the administration of the Company led to further complications. The Board of Control and the Court of Directors—two masters—spoiled the whole affair. The tug-of-war between the two authorities led to administrative delay and confusion. This created a headache to the British Parliament which was only waiting for an opportunity to put an end to the whole affair. "To pursue schemes of conquest and extension of dominions in India are measures repugnant to the wish, honour and policy of this nation" — a guiding principle laid down in the Pitt's India Act (1784) was not strictly adhered to by some of the Governors-General. Wellesley's 'Subsidiary System' and Dalhousie's 'Doctrine of Lapse' were the direct antithesis to the above mentioned principle. Auckland blundered badly in the First Anglo-Afghan War. The warlike activities and territorial hunger of the Company aggravated the malady of the people and public discontent mounted up with unabated vigour. The British Parliament was not an idle bystander to all these acts of omissions and commissions. The Mutiny offered a pretext to Parliament to intervene and the death knell to the Company's administration was sounded by an Act passed in 1858. According to Cunningham the transfer of power from the Company to the Crown "was not something substantial, sudden or abrupt but, formal, nominal and a natural outcome of the process in continuance since 1784".

The Act for the Better Government of India (1858)

The Act of 1858 sounded the death knell of the Company's administration in India. Power was transferred from the Company to the Crown. The Act abolished the Board of Conttrol and the Court of Directors. The powers wielded by both bodies were transferred to the Secretary of State for India. He was to be assisted

by a Council of 15 members. Seven members of the Council were to be elected by the existing Court of Directors and the rest to be appointed by the Crown. The Secretary of State-in-Council was given wide and extensive powers to direct and control the administration of India. The Secretary of State was empowered to overrule the decision of his Council in some cases. In urgent cases, he was empowered to issue orders without consulting the Council. In declaration of war and conclusion of peace, the Secretary of State was not to make any reference to the Council. But on important matters like revenue, he was bound by the decision of the Council. The future appointments of the Governor-General and Governors of the Presidencies were to be made by the Crown, and the members of their Councils by the Secretary of State-in-Council. The armed forces of the Company were transferred to the Crown.

Queen's Proclamation (1858)

The assumption of the administration of India by the Crown was made known to the people by Queen Victoria's Proclamation issued on lst Nov. 1858. The Queen's Proclamation confirmed all the appointments made by the Company in civil and military establishments and respected the treaties contracted by the Company with native powers. The Proclamation laid down in categorical terms that it was not the policy of the British Crown for further extension of territories in India. Observance of neutrality in religious matters and impartiality in appointments to public offices without any distinction of caste or creed was clearly emphasised in the Proclamation. A general amnesty was given to all who participated in the mutiny except those who murdered the British subjects.

2. CHANGES IN THE HOME GOVERNMENT BY THE VARIOUS ACTS

The Act of 1858 sounded the death knell of the Company's administration in India. Power was transferred from the Company to the Crown. The Act abolished the Board of Control and the Court of Directors. It is needless to say that the Court of Directors

was a body which looked after the affairs of the Company. The Board of Control was set up in 1784 to superindent, direct and control the activities of the Court of Directors. The powers wielded by both bodies were transferred to the Secretary of State for India. The office of the Secretary of State was at Whitehall in London. He was to be assisted by an India Council of 15 members. More than half of the members with a sound knowledge of Indian conditions was included in the Council.

The Secretary of State-in-Council was given wide and extensive powers to direct and control the administration of India. The Secretary of State was empowered to overrule the decision of his Council in some cases. In urgent cases, he was empowered to issue orders without consulting the Council. In declaration of war and conclusion of peace, the Secretary of State was not to make any reference to the Council. But important matters like appointments of the Governor-General and Governors of the Presidencies were to be made by the Crown, and the members of their Councils by the Secretary of State-in-Council. In the beginning, the members remained in office "during good behaviour". But by an act passed in 1869, it was laid down that the members were to hold office only for ten years, renewable at the pleasure of the Secretary of State. This provision clearly demonstrated the subordinate position of the members as the continuance of their office was left to the discretion of the Secretary of State.

The Secretary of State who was a member of the British Parliament was answerable to that body as far as Indian affairs were concerned. But most of the English politicians who were ignorant of Indian affairs evinced no keen interest in them. With the result, the Secretary of State was elevated to the position of a Robinson Crusoe with none to dispute his unlimited authority on Indian affairs.

The powers of the Court of Directors and the Board of Control rolled into one in the person of the Secretary of State had an important bearing on the relations existing between the Whitehall and the Government of India at Calcutta. The Board of

Control and the Court of Directors when they existed were always at loggerheads. It was an opportunity for a clever Governor-General to fish in troubled waters or sometimes trouble the waters in order to fish in them. Further, mutual rivalry stood as an obstacle to formulate a joint policy which might have put the Indian Government in a tight cornor. Further, the influence which the Secretary of State wielded as a member of the Cabinet carried greater weight than the President of the Board of Control. Armed with such powers, the Secretary of State exercised greater control over the Viceroy and his Council than it was previously. Apart from the statutory recognition given to the exalted position of the Secretary of State, certain other factors also enhanced his powers. The direct telegraph link between England and India set up in 1870 enabled the Secretary of State to pull up the Viceroys then and there instead of allowing them to take a decision on the spur of the moment and then to seek refuge under the clock of delayed communication. In short, the Viceroy became the "mouth-piece" of the Secretary of State. The Secretary of State could make or mar a Viceroy. The resignation of Northbrook in 1876 and Curzon in 1905 was due to difference of opinion with the Secretary of State. It was said of Lord Morley, the Secretary of State (1905-1910) as "the most autocratic and the least constitutional Secretary of State ever seen in Whitehall.

By the Council of India Reduction Act of 1869, the number of members in the India Council was allowed to fall to 10. Lord Morley, the Secretary of State admitted 2 Indians to the India Council in 1907.

By the Government of India Act 1919 (Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms), the Secretary of State was still authorised to fill in vacancies in the India Council. The Secretary of State's Council was to consist of not less than 8 and not more than 12 members, half of whom must have residential or service qualifications in India for not less than 10 years. Their term of office was reduced to 5 years from 7 years. The office of the High Commissioner for India was created to look after the Indian interests. He was placed under the Govenor-General-in-Council. Hitherto, the salary of the Secretary

of State and the expenses of his department were paid out of the Indian revenues. But after 1919 the salary of the Secretary of State and all the expenses of his department were met by Britain. The powers of the Secretary of State were considerably reduced. Many of his powers were transferred to the Governor - General - in - Council. References to the Secretary of State were reduced in number and prior reference to the Secretary of State in all legislative measures was now confined to a few subjects like army, foreign relations, public debts, customs and currency. In the case of the presidencies or provinces, his control over the "transferred subjects" was restricted and control over finance was relaxed.

The Government of India Act 1935 introduced provincial autonomy in the provinces and diarchy at the centre. The introduction of provincial autonomy and the possibility of partial responsibility to be assumed by the Centre in the event of a federation being formed led to slight relaxation in the power of the Secretary of State. Despite this, he still "stood at the top of the Indian administration as its guardian". The act abolished the India Council. The Secretary of State was however given a body of advisers. It was to consist of not less than three or more than six, of whom one half at least must have served for ten years in India and must have been appointed within two years of ceasing to work in India. The duration of office was 5 years. It was left to the discretion of the Secretary to consult them collectively or individually. But he was not bound by their advice except in certain specified matters, *viz.*, those duties conferred as part of the services of the Crown by the Act.

The office of the High Commissioner was set up by the act of 1919. He was entrusted with the duty of agency work for the central and provincial Governments of India hitherto carried out by the Secretary of State. He was appointed by the Government of India and was answerable to it. His salary was paid out of Indian revenues. His duties were to procure stores of Indian Governments, furnish trade information, promote the interests of Indian commerce, look after the education of Indian students in England

and supply information on India to enquiries. The Act of 1935 put him under the control of the Governor-General.

3. THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACT OF 1861

Introduction

At the time of transference of power from the Company to the Crown in 1858, the Governor-General-in-Council possessed both legislative and executive powers. The Executive Council consisted of the Governor-General himself, the Commander- in-chief and the 4 members of the Executive Council. The Legislative Council consisted of all the 6 members of the Executive Council plus 6 legislative members. Out of the 6 legislative members, 4 members came one each from the provinces of Madras, Bengal, Bombay and North-West Provinces. The other two members were the Chief Justice of Bengal and a judge of the Supreme Court of Calcutta. The Governor-General was empowered to veto the laws passed by the Legislative Council. The growth of the Legislative Council as distinct from the Executive Council could be clearly noted in the Charter Act of 1853. After the transfer of power by the Act for the Better Government of India (1858), the Governor-General as the representative of the Crown was called Viceroy as well. Practically there was no difference in the position of the Governor-General and the Viceroy. The Governor General as the representative of the Crown got the title of Viceroy. But the Viceroys were more familiarly known as Governors-General.

The Indian Councils Act of 1861

The Indian Councils Act as the very name itself suggests brought about changes in the constitution of the Councils in both the centre and the provinces. The immediate cause for the passing of the Councils Act of 1861 was the growing unrest among Indians due to the exclusion of native element in Legislative Councils and the difficulties and inconveniences experienced by the provinces in depending upon the Governor-General-in-Council in getting laws passed for them. The various acts passed by the British Parliament during the administration of the Company was characterised by a high degree of centralisation. The Indian Councils Act inaugurated

a period of progressive decentralisation by restoring the Legislative Councils of Madras, Bombay and Bengal.

The act enlarged the Executive Council of the Governor-General by adding a 5th member who was to be a jurist rather than a technical lawyer. The Secretary of State was empowered to appoint the Commander-in-Chief as an extraordinary member of the Council. The additional members were nominated by the Governor-General for a period of 2 years. For purposes of legislation, the Governor-General's Council was enlarged by the addition of not less than 6 and not more than 12 members of whom not less than one-half must be non-officials. The sphere of influence of the Legislative Council was strictly limited to legislative purposes. The Legislative Council of the Governor-General was empowered to make laws for the whole of British India. But prior sanction of the Governor-General was required for the introduction of bills relating to revenues, public debt, army and religion of the people. The Governor-General was empowered to veto the bills passed by the legislature and the right of disallowance of a bill was given to the Crown. The Governor-General was also empowered to issue ordinances in times of emergency. Each province was invested with power to make laws for the good government but was not allowed to encroach into the sphere of activity of the centre.

For legislative purposes, the Councils of the Governors of Madras and Bombay were also enlarged by the addition of the Advocate-General of the Presidency and also by the addition of not less than 4 and not more than 8 members of whom not less than one-half must be non-officials. The Indian Councils Act of 1861 marked a landmark in the growth of the Legislative Councils. But the fact remains that the power of the Legislative Councils was extremely limited. They were mere glorified drafting committees, "registering the decrees of the executive Government and stamp them with legislative sanction".

4. THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACT OF 1892

The Indian Councils Act of 1861 fell short of even the most humble aspirations of the people. The nominated non-officials in the Council were only zamindars, princes and retired officials and

hence the Council did not represent the different sections of the people. It was mainly due to the work of the Indian National Congress—started in 1885—that the Indian Councils Act of 1892 was passed.

The act enlarged the number of additional members in the Governor-General's Council. It was to consist of not less than 10 and not more than 16 members. Out of the 16 additional members, 6 were officials, 5 were nominated non-officials and the remaining 5 were elected— one by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce and one each by non-official members of the four Provincial Councils of Madras, Bombay, Bengal and North-Western Provinces. The size of the Provincial Legislative Councils was also enlarged. In the case of Madras and Bombay, the Councils were to consist of not less than 8 and not more than 20. The maximum number for the Council of Bengal was fixed at 20 and North-Western Provinces, 15. Out of the 20 additional members of the Madras Council, 9 were officials, 4 nominated non-officials and the remaining 7 were elected—4 by the Municipalities and District Boards and one each by the Corporation of Madras, the University of Madras and the Chamber of Commerce. The powers of the Legislative Councils were enlarged by the act. The Legislative Councils were given for the first time power to discuss the annual financial statement. Further, they were given the right to put questions to the government, of course, under severe restrictions and limitations and that defeated the very purpose of the provision made in the act.

75 MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS OF 1909

The Indian Councils Act of 1892 fell short of the expectations of the Indian National Congress. It carried on incessant agitation against the government with the view of wresting more political concessions. The outcome was the Indian Councils Act of 1909 popularly called after its authors as the Morley-Minto Reforms (Morley was the Secretary of State for India and Minto was the Viceroy Governor-General).

The act greatly enlarged the Legislative Councils of the Centre and the Provinces. The number of additional members in the

and the Provinces. The number of additional members in the Imperial Legislative Council was raised from 16 to 60. Apart from this, there were 9 ex-officio members. They were the Governor-General, the 6 ordinary members of the Council and 2 extraordinary members—the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor of the Province where the Council was scheduled to meet. (The Indian Councils Act of 1861 added a fifth member—jurist—to the Governor General's Executive Council. An act passed in 1874 added a sixth member who was in charge of public works). Thus the total strength of the Imperial Legislative Council (60+9) was 69. Out of the total of 69, 37 were to be officials and 32 non-officials. Out of 37 officials, 28 were to be nominated officials and 9 ex-officio officials. Out of the 32 non-officials 5 were to be nominated non-officials and the remaining 27 were to be elected. The Provincial Legislative Councils were also enlarged, about more than double in many cases, the maximum being 50. The powers of the Legislative Councils were also enlarged. The members were given the power to discuss the budget at length and move resolutions on them. Provision was also made for the discussion of matters of public importance and resolutions were allowed. But the resolutions had only a recommendatory effect and was not binding on the government. But discussions and resolutions were not allowed in matters concerning the army, foreign relations, political and provincial affairs. The right to put questions to the government was also considerably enlarged by asking supplementary questions.

The Morley-Minto Reforms fell short of the expectations of the Congress. The Indian Councils Act of 1892 meticulously avoided the mention of the word 'election' in the act. But it came into operation as a matter of course. The Morley-Minto Reforms introduced the elective principle though it was indirect. The Act sowed the seeds of dissension in the country by providing for separate and communal electorates. But the defect of the act was that the franchise was extremely narrow. Though the powers of the Legislative Councils were enlarged, they had no real power, because many restrictions were imposed on them. The preponderance of

the official element in the centre made the existence of non-officials a mockery and a show of responsible government. The non-official majority in the provinces did not improve matters because its powers were extremely limited and further the Governor exercised the power of veto over Provincial measures. The provisions envisaged in the Morley-Minto Reforms were highly inadequate and was only a mere mirage which thoroughly disillusioned the people. It was short of a half-way house between autocracy and responsible government.

6. MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REFORMS OF 1919

The Government of India Act 1919 popularly called after its authors as Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms brought many changes in the constitution and administration of India. (Montagu was the Secretary of State and Chelmsford was the Viceroy Governor-General.) The Morley-Minto Reforms was a "mere moonshine" and did not satisfy the basic demands of the leaders of the Congress and they were thoroughly dissatistified. In 1919, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms was passed. The aim of the reforms "was to give greater representation for the Indians in every branch of administration and the realisation of responsible government".

Division of subjects between the Centre and the Provinces

To fulfil the aim of the realisation of responsible government in India, the Government of India Act 1919 made provision for the distribution of powers between the centre and the provinces. (Subjects of an all India importance were assigned to the centre.) They were defence, foreign relations, posts and telegraphs, public debt, currency, communications (air, water and rail), *etc.* (The provincial subjects were local self-government, public health, sanitation, education, public works, agriculture, irrigation, *etc.*)

Changes in the Central Government

The Governor-General-in-Council

The position and powers of the Governor-General-in-Council remained unaltered by the Act of 1919. The Governor-General-in-Council continued to be responsible to the British Parliament through the Secretary of State and not to the Indian Parliament. The extraordinary powers wielded by the Governor-General

reduced the Central Parliament to the position of a mere debating body without any power to implement legislation. The act brought about some minor changes in the strength of the Governor-General's Council. Some degree of flexibility was allowed with regard to the size and the representation of Indians in the Council. The number of Indians in the Council was raised from 2 to 3.

The Central Legislature

The act provided for a central legislature. It was a bicameral body consisting of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State. The Governor-General was an integral part of the legislature. The Legislative Assembly was the Lower House and it consisted of 145 members of whom 105 were to be directly elected, and in the remaining 40, 26 were to be officials and 14 were to be nominated non-officials. Out of the 105 members to be elected, 53 were to come from the General, Muslims 30, Sikhs 2, Europeans 9, landlords 7 and and Indian Commerce 4. Though the principle of direct election was introduced for the first time, the franchise was extremely limited because of the fixation of high property qualifications. The Council of State was the Upper House and it consisted of 60 members of whom 34 were to be directly elected by the people and in the remaining 26, 20 were to be officials and 6 nominated non-officials. Out of the 34 members to be elected 19 were to come from General Constituencies, 11 from Muslims, 1 from the Sikhs and 3 from Europeans. In this case also the franchise was extremely limited because of the fixation of high property qualifications. Though the normal tenure of the Legislative Assembly was 3 years and the Council of State 5 years, the Governor-General was vested with the power to dissolve either chamber at an earlier date or extend the tenure. In legislative measures, both chambers enjoyed co-equal powers. But the powers exercised by the legislature were extremely limited by various restrictions and reservations. Above all, the Governor-General was armed with extraordinary powers in legislative affairs. They were so sweeping that the legislature existed only in name. It was reduced to the position of a

debating body with no power to implement its will. The two bodies of the legislature remained as responsive and not responsible bodies and the realisation of responsible government still remained a far-off cry.

Diarchy in the Provinces

A novel feature of the Act of 1919 was that it introduced Diarchy or Dual Government in the provinces. Under the system, the subjects alloted to the provinces under the distribution of powers between the centre and the provinces were divided into two divisions—"Reserved Subjects" and "Transferred Subjects". The Governor-in-Council administered the "Reserved Subjects" and the Governor acting with the Ministers the "Tranferred Subjects". The "Reserve Subjects" were police, irrigation, land revenue, famine-relief, control of newspapers, *etc.* The "Transferred Subjects" were local self-government, public health, sanitation, education, public works, agriculture, *etc.* Thus the administration of the provinces was entrusted to two bodies—the Governor-in-Council and the Governor acting with the Ministers. The former body was responsible to the Central Government and the latter was responsible to the Provincial Legislature. The working of Diarchy in the provinces proved a dismal failure because the ministers who administered the "Transferred Subjects" had no real powers and had to discharge their duties under severe handicaps. The position of the provinces could be better understood from the statement made by K.V. Reddy, the one-time minister in Madras: "I was a Minister for Development without Forest. I was a Minister for Agriculture minus Irrigation. As Minister of Agriculture, I had nothing to do with the Madras Agriculturists' Loans Act or the Madras Land Improvement Loan Act".

The Provincial Legislative Councils

Provision was made in the act for only one chamber in each province known as the Legislative Council. The membership in the Legislative Council was greatly increased. The Legislative Council of Bengal had a total membership

of 140, Madras 132, U.P. 123, Bombay 114, Bihar and Orissa 103, Punjab 94, Central Provinces 73 and Assam 53. Proivsion was made in the act that at least 70% of the members should be directly elected by the people and with regard to the nominated members not more than 20% were to be officials. Various sections of the people such as Land-owners, Chamber of Commerce, Universities, Muslims, Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and Sikhs in the Punjab were allotted seats through their voters. The normal life of each Legislative Council was 3 years but the Governor of the Province was empowered to dissolve it even earlier. Though the members of the legislature enjoyed interrogatory, deliberative, legislative and financial powers, the sweeping powers enjoyed by the Governor greatly weakened its position as a legislative body.

The Government of India act 1919 was definitely an improvement on that of the Act of 1909. But the act still remained a "half-way House". The working of Diarchy in the Provinces proved a dismal failure. The distribution of powers between the Centre and the Provinces, the division of the Provincial subjects into "Reserved Subjects" and " Transferred Subjects" and the addition of 3 Indians to the Governor-Generals Council did not improve matters. The system of allocating separate and communal electorates started in 1909 was consolidated by the Act of 1919. Though the principle of "direct election" was introduced, the franchise was extremely restricted and hence the legislatures did not truly represent the Indian people as a whole. Realisation of responsible government—the goal set up in the act—still remained a far-off cry. In spite of all these defects, the Government of India Act 1919 marked a further decentralisation of administrative functions and provided an opportunity to the Indians to get trained in the art of responsible government.

7. GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT (1935)

Events leading to the passing of the Act

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms fell short of the ideal and the leaders of all sections were not satisfied with the reforms. The

discontent of the people mounted up. The Rowlatt Act, the Jalianwalla Bagh massacre and the Khilafat Movement added fuel to the fire. In 1920, Gandhiji appealed to the people for non-co-operation. The majority of the people boycotted the elections under the new constitution. Popular risings spread throughout the country against foreign rule. The unsatisfactoriness of the Reforms of 1919 made the Parliament of Britain enquire into its working. In 1927, it appointed a Commission under Simon to study the situation. The Simon Commission recommended in its report "Provincial Autonomy" for India.

The Congress set as its goal *Purna Swaraj* or complete Independence and 26th January, 1930, was declared the Independence Day. A Round Table Conference (1930-31) was held in London to discuss the Simon Commission Report. But the Congress boycotted it. Gandhiji started the Civil Disobedience Movement by violating the salt law. Gandhiji and many other Congress leaders were arrested. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact was signed in 1931. Gandhiji promised to discontinue the Civil Disobedience Movement. Irwin in his turn withdrew all repressive measures and released all political prisoners. The Second Round Table Conference (1931) was attended by Gandhiji. But nothing was achieved by it. The Third Round Table Conference (1932) was not attended by the Congress. As the Round Table Conferences failed in arriving at a solution for a new constitution for India, the British Government prepared a White Paper embodying the recommendations made in the conferences. After due discussion of the White Paper in the British Parliament, it became the Government of India Act 1935 and came into effect in 1937. The setting up of an Indian Federation, Diarchy at the Centre and Provincial Autonomy were some of the important features of the act.

An All India Federation

The act contemplated the setting up of an All India Federation consisting of the Governors of Provinces and the Indian States. Each State willing to join the Federation was required to execute an Instrument of accession subject to the approval of the British Crown before it became a member of the Federation. The States

were given a twenty-year time to opt for either to join the Federation or not. Having once acceded, a State could not secede from the Federation.

Diarchy in the Federal Executive

The much-despised Diarchy which was introduced in the Provinces under the provisions of the Government of India Act 1919, was now introduced at the Centre. The federal subjects were divided into two divisions—"Reserved Subjects" and "Transferred Subjects". The Governor-General assisted by not more than three Councillors were to administer the "Reserved Subjects" of defence, foreign affairs, ecclesiastical affairs and the administration of tribal areas and were to be responsible to the British Parliament. The rest of the subjects other than the four mentioned above came under the "Transferred Subjects". The Governor-General acting with not more than ten ministers administered the "Transferred Subjects" and were to be responsible to the Federal Assembly which was the Lower House. Even though the Governor-General was required to act on the advice of the Council of Ministers, he had overriding and extraordinary powers and could act independently and arrive at decisions in a number of subjects.

The Federal Legislature

The Federal Legislature was a bicameral body consisting of the Federal Assembly and the Council of State. The Governor-General was an integral part of the Legislature. The Lower House was the House of Assembly or the Federal Assembly. It was to consist of 375 members of whom 250 were to come from British India and the remaining 125 from the Indian States. The seats allotted to the States were to be filled by the respective rulers and the 250 from British India were to be elected on the basis of representation of communities, classes and interests like Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Europeans, Indians Christians, Anglo-Indians, Women, commerce and industry, labour and land-holders. The life of the Federal Assembly was 5 years, but it could be dissolved by the Governor-General at an earlier date. The Council of State was the Upper House. It was to consist of not more than 260 members of whom

104 were to be representatives of the Indian States and the remaining 156 were to be represented from British Indian Provinces. Out of the 156, 6 were to be nominated by the Governor-General, 140 to be directly elected by the people with high property qualifications on communal basis and the remaining 10 to be indirectly elected by the respective members of communities in the Provincial Legislatures on a communal basis. The members of the Council of State were elected for a period of 9 years, one-third of the members retiring every three years. Money-bills could originate only in the Federal Assembly. Parliamentary deadlocks between the two Houses were solved by recourse to a joint sitting of both Houses.

Provincial Legislature

The Government of India Act 1935 provided for unicameral legislature for 5 provinces and bicameral legislature for 6 provinces. The 5 provinces with unicameral legislature were the Punjab, Sind, Orissa, Central Provinces and North-West Frontier Provinces and the 6 provinces where the bicameral legislature existed were Madras, United Provinces, Bihar, Bombay, Assam and Bengal. The Legislative Assembly was the Lower House in a province. The size of the Provincial Assemblies varied from province to province. It ranged from 50 to 250. The members were elected on a communal basis. The normal life of the Assembly was five years but it could be dissolved earlier. The Legislative Council was the Upper House. Some members were nominated to the body by the Governor and the rest were elected directly or indirectly. The imposition of high property qualifications extremely restricted the number of voters. The number of representatives in the Council varied from province to province. It ranged from 22 to 65. The members of the Council were elected for a period of 9 years, one-third retiring every three years. Money-bills could not originate in this House.

Provincial Autonomy

Provincial Autonomy granted to the provinces under the provisions of the act existed only in paper but not in practice. Diarchy was scrapped in the provinces. The vexatious distinction between

Reserved and Transferred Subjects was done away with. The Governor was required to carry on the administration of the Province on the advice tendered by the ministers. Though the position of the ministers under the new act marked a definite improvement on that of the Act of 1919, it did not improve matters. The sweeping powers enjoyed by the Governor, Governor-General and above all the British Parliament, made the operation of Provincial Autonomy a veritable farce.

8. REPUBLICAN CONSTITUTION OF 1950

Introduction

India became independent on August 15, 1947. She became a self-governing dominion like Canada and Australia under Britain. The sovereign of Britain was the ornamental head of India. Earl Mountbatten became the first Governor-General of Independent India. He laid down his office in June, 1948. Sri Rajagopalachari then became the Governor-General in which capacity he continued till the inauguration of the Republic. On 26th January 1950, India became a Sovereign Democratic Republic in the sense that she has once for all bid farewell to monarchical form of government. Dr. Rajendra Prasad became the first President of the Republic. At present India is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations.

Salient Features of the Constitution

India is a "Sovereign, Socialist, Secular Democratic Republic". The Indian Constitution is the longest known Constitution in the world. The preamble to the Constitution runs thus: "we, the people of India having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a sovereign, Socialist, Secular Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens: Justice...Liberty...Equality...Fraternity...In our Constituent Assembly this twenty sixth day of November 1949, do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this Constitution".

The important features of the Consitution are drawn from the accumulated experience of different Consitutions. The chapter on fundamental rights is modelled on that of the American Constitution; the parliamentary type of government is borrowed from the British Constitution. It incorporated the

Directive Principles of State Policy from the Constitution of Eire and the Emergency powers of the President were taken from the Constitution of the German Reich.

The Constitution provides for a federal type of government. The powers are divided between the centre and the states and the residuary powers belong to the centre. The high degree of centralisation reveals the unitary feature of the Constitution. It is written. It provides for a separate procedure for the amendment of the Constitution. But the fact remains that the Constitution is more flexible than regid because most of the provisions of the Constitution can be amended without the concurrence of the states.

The President

The President is the nominal or titular executive head of the State. Any citizen of India who has completed 35 years of age and who does not hold any office of profit under the government of India or any state is qualified to stand for the Presidency. The President is elected by the members of an electoral college consisting of elected members of both Houses of Parliament and the elected members of the legislative assemblies of the states. The President is elected for a term of 5 years. He may be re-elected. At the time of assuming office, he has to take an oath to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution". He is required by the constitution to exercise his functions on the advice tendered by the Council of Ministers responsible to a Parliament. He appoints the Prime Minister and other ministers, the Attorney-General, the judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Courts, the members of the Union Public Service Commission, the Election Commission, the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, Governors, Ambassadors and high officers. He summons and prorogues both Houses and dissolves the Lok Sabha. The new Parliament is greeted by an opening speech by the President. He may summon a joint session of both Houses. He may send message or address both Houses of Parliament. The President may promulgate ordinances during the recess

of Parliament. He grants pardon, reprieve and remission of punishments.

Vice-President

The Constitution also makes provision for a Vice-President. Any citizen of India who has completed 35 years of age and who does not hold any office of profit under the Government of India or any state is qualified to stand for the Vice-Presidency. He is elected for a period of 5 years by members of both Houses of the Union Parliament at a joint meeting by secret ballot on the system of proportional representation by means of the single-transferable vote. He may be re-elected. He is the ex-officio Chairman of the Council of States. In case of any vacancy to the office of the President due to death, resignation or removal by impeachment, the Vice-President steps into the shoes of the President for a maximum period of 6 months within which period fresh election takes place for the Presidency.

The Council of Ministers

While the President is the ceremonial head of the State, the real executive head of the State is the Cabinet or the Council of Ministers headed by the Prime Minister. The conventions governing the British Cabinet system have been faithfully adopted in the Constitution. The Cabinet occupies and plays a vital role in the working of the government. The President appoints the leader of the majority party as Prime Minister. The Prime Minister selects his colleagues and the President appoints them.

The Parliament

The Union Parliament consists of the President and the two chambers—the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha. Thus the President is an integral part of the Legislature. The Lok Sabha is the Lower House and the Rajya Sabha, the Upper House.

The Lok Sabha is the popular House and consists of 542 members directly elected by the people and 2nominated by the President. The normal life of the Lok Sabha is 5 years. By the 42nd Amendment Act, the life of the Lok Sabha was extended from 5to 6 years.

But the 43rd Amendment Act restored the normal 5-year term. By the 44th Amendment Act, the life of the Lok Sabha has been fixed at 5 years (as originally provided in the Constitution). In 1980, the 45th Amendment Act, extended the representation of the Anglo-Indians in the Lok Sabha to 10 years *i. e.*, upto January 25, 1990. By the 31st Amendment Act passed in May 1973 the number of elective seats in the Lok Sabha is increased from 525 to 545. Any citizen of India who has completed 25 years or more may stand for election. The Lok Sabha has equal powers with that of the Rajya Sabha in matters of legislation. But as the Lok Sabha is the custodian of the 'Public Purse', money-bills can originate only in this House.

The Rajya Sabha is the Second Chamber and is composed of hot more than 250 members. The President nominates 12 member to the Rajya Sabha who have distinguished themselves in science, arts, literature or social service. The rest of the members are elected by the elected representatives of the legislative assemblies of the states. The Rajya Sabha is not subject to dissolution. The members are elected for a period of 6 years, one-third retiring every 2 years. Any citizen of India who has completed 30 years or more may stand for election.

The Rajya Sabha has equal powers with the Lower House in all measures. But money-bills can originate only in the Lok Sabha. The Rajya Sabha has a 14-day veto power over money-bills. If at the expiration of that period, bills are further delayed, they automatically become laws with the assent of the President. His assent is only a picturesque formality because he is bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers responsible to the Lok Sabha. In the case of ordinary bills, it has equal powers with the Lower House. But this is also severely limited, for in the case of a deadlock between the two Houses, a joint session resolves the deadlock. In this case, the Lok Sabha has a clear advantage by virtue of its numerical strength.

The Supreme Court

The Supreme Court at first consisted of a Chief Justice and 7 other judges, though Parliament has raised the number to 14. By

an act passed in Dec. 1977, the number of judges including the Chief Justice is raised to 18. Judges are appointed by the President and hold office till the age of 65. They can be removed by the President by an address of both Houses passed by a two-thirds majority in each House. A judge of the Supreme Court must be a citizen of India and must have been a High Court judge for at least five years or an advocate of a High Court for at least ten years or must be in the opinion of the President a distinguished jurist. The Supreme Court enjoys jurisdiction in three fields. (a) Original jurisdiction. (b) Appellate jurisdiction, and (c) Advisory jurisdiction. The Supreme Court is a Court of Record and as such its acts and proceedings are of such high and supereminent authority that their truth cannot be questioned in any court. To crown all, the Supreme Court is vested with the power of Judicial Review, *i. e.*, to declare laws passed by the legislature *intra vires* or *ultra vires*.

The Government of the States

As the Constitution of India is federal, there are two distinct administrative authorities — Federal and State. Part VI of the Indian Constitution lays down a uniform structure of Government for all the States except Jammu & Kashmir which has a separate constitution of its own. The pattern for the governance of the States is the same as that of the Union Government. At present there are 22 States in India.

The Governor

The Governor is the constitutional head of the State. Normally each State is headed by a Governor. Any citizen of India who has completed 35 years of age and who does not hold any office of profit under the Union or the State and who is not a member of the Union legislature or any of the State legislatures is eligible to become a Governor. The Governor is appointed by the President for a period of five years. He holds office during the pleasure of the President. The Governor wields legislative, executive and judicial powers. He is an integral part of the State legislature. The new Assembly is greeted by an opening speech by the Governor. He summons and prorogues both Houses (smaller states

have only one House) and dissolves the Legislative Assembly. The Governor can address and send messages to the Assembly. A bill to become law requires the signature of the Governor. He can reserve any bill, including a money-bill, for the consideration of the President. The Governor has the right to promulgate ordinances when the Assembly is not in session. The Governor appoints the leader of the majority party in the State Assembly as Chief Minister. On the advice tendered by the Chief Minister, he appoints the other ministers. The Governor appoints the Advocate General and members of the State Public Service Commission. The judges of the State High Court are appointed by the President and not by the Governor. The judicial power of the Governor amounts to the granting of pardons, reprieves and remission of punishments.

The Councils of Ministers

While the Governor is the ceremonial head of the State, the real executive head is the Council of Ministers headed by the Chief Minister. In the exercise of its power, the State cabinet possesses the same powers as those of the Union Cabinet.

The Legislature

The State Legislature consists of the Governor and one or two Houses. Some States have a unicameral legislature and some bicameral. The popular House of the Legislature is called the Legislative Assembly and the less popular, the Legislative Council. The membership in the Legislative Assembly shall in no case be less than 60 or more than 500. The membership of the Upper House shall not exceed one-third of the members of the Assembly and shall in no case be less than 40. The members of the Assembly are directly elected by the people. The Council consists of members indirectly elected by the people giving one-third representation to Municipalities and District Boards, one-twelfth to graduates of three years' standing, one-twelfth to teachers, one-third to be elected by the Assembly from among people who are not members of the Assembly and the rest of the members nominated by the Governor. Any citizen of India who is not less than 25 years of age is qualified to become a member of the Assembly and not less than

30 years of age to become a member of the Council. The duration of the Assembly, in the normal course, is 5 years. The Council is a permanent body not subject to dissolution. But one-third of the members retire every two years.

The Legislative Assembly is the popular House. Money-bills can originate only in this House. In the case of money-bills, the Council enjoys a suspensive veto for 14 days. If the bill is further delayed, it will automatically become law with the assent of the Governor. In case of a legislative deadlock between the two Houses with regard to ordinary bills, the Council can veto a bill for 3 months in the first instance. If the bill is again passed by the Assembly after 3 months, it will automatically become law after the lapse of one month with the assent of the Governor. He can reserve any bill for the consideration of the President.

Judiciary

Each state has a gradation of courts to try civil and criminal cases with the High Court at the apex. The gradation of courts on the criminal side are the Honorary First Class Magistrate Court, the Sub Magistrate Court, Additional First Class Magistrate Court, the Sub Divisional Magistrate Court, the District Magistrate Court, Assistant Sessions Court, Sessions Court and High Court. The gradation of Courts on the civil side are the Munsif's Court, Sub Court, District Court and High Court. The same judge presides over the Assistant Sessions Court and the Sub Court. In the former case he is called the Assistant Sessions Judge and in the latter, the Sub Judge. The Sessions Court and the District Court are presided over by the same judge. In the former case, he is called the Sessions Judge and in the latter, the District Judge.

Each High Court consists of a Chief Justice and a number of puisne Judges. The Chief Justice and other judges of the High Court are appointed by the President. A judge continues in office till he reaches 62 years of age. The High Court has original and appellate jurisdiction. The High Court has the power to issue writs in the nature of *habeas corpus, mandamus, quo warranto and certiorari.*

Conclusion

The establishment of non-Congress ministries in some states led to a crop of troubles. Though the Governor can summon, prorogue both Houses and dissolve the Lower House, he should act on the advice tendered by the Chief Minister. According to the letter of the Constitution, the Governor is not bound by the advice of the Council of Ministers in some cases. But the spirit of the Constitution is more important than the letter. Constitutional propriety demands that the Governor should remain a Constitutional head and not a Controversial figure. In most of the State Legislative Assemblies, pandemonium has become the order of the day. The Speakers find it difficult to maintain decency, decorum and order in the Houses. Healthy conventions should develop for the proper conduct of the members in the legislatures — the political *sanctum sanctorum* of the people. If the representatives of the people fail to develop healthy conventions, democracy which has taken roots in India would be soon uprooted. Political consciousness of the people should develop for the expulsion of such unhealthy practices with bell, book and candle.

9. PUBLIC SERVICES

Introduction

In the beginning, the Indian Civil Service remained as " the out- door relief department of the British aristocracy". Places and honours were conferred on the sons of wealthy and influential people. Promotions were based not on seniority and efficiency but on wire-pulling and back-door methods. Such an unwhole some state of affairs continued till 1833 when the Directors of the East India Company were forced to introduce a system of competitive examinations to recruit civil servants. But the high - sounding declaration of the Charter Act of 1833 for recruiting civil servants on the basis of merit and not nomination materialised only in 1853. The Charter Act of 1853 formed the basis for further improvements in the civil service.

After the transference of power from the Company to the Crown in 1858, the Secretary of State for India took up the full

responsibility of the administration of India. The administrative machinery in India was geared on smooth and efficient lines thanks to the introduction of the administrative principles and political ideals of England, The Indian officials were made answerable to the Secretary of State, They remained secure in their jobs as long as they enjoyed the confidence of the Secretary of State. It was not possible for him to guide the details of the administration from a distance, The net result was the growth of an all-powerful bureaucracy in India headed by the members of the superior Indian Civil Service. During the days of the Company rule, these members freely mixed with the Indians. But the Indian Sepoy Mutiny hammered such a blow that they gradually began to dissociate themselves from the Indians. Means of communication such as telegraphs and steam navigation brought these British officials nearer their home. They formed clubs of their own. They soon began to assume a superiority complex and ceased to participate in the social entertainments of the Indians. Thus they lived a secluded life with studied neglect in an atmosphere of ignorance about the feelings and aspirations of the people of India.

The reservation of the higher posts to the Britishers in the Indian Civil Service did not continue for a long time. The Charter Act of 1833 clearly stated that "no native of India or any natural born subject of his Majesty should be disabled from holding any office or employment by reason of religion, place of birth, descent or colour". But an unrepealed provision of the Act of 1793, still remained as an obstacle because it laid down that "none but convenanted servants of the Company could hold any offiice with a salary of more than £ 800 a year". So this provision clearly stated that no Indian could asprie for the higher posts unless he had entered into a convenant or contract either with the Company before 1858 or with the Secretary of State after that. The old practice was that these convenanted officers were nominated partly by the Directors and partly by the Board of Control. After the nomination, they underwent two years' training at the East India College at Haileybury. But this position was completely changed in 1853, when all the higher posts were

thrown open to all the natural-born subjects of Her Majesty, whether European or Indian. This was confirmed by the Act of 1858.

The age-limit for admission in the begining was 23. It was reduced from time to time till it was lowered to 21 in 1866. The candidates so selected had to undergo training for two years in England. To cross the sea was considered a sin by the orthodox section of the Hindus. The religious sentiment stood as an impediment to bright and promising Hindu candidates. The oral and written examinations of the I.C.S for recruiting the higher Civil Servants were of such difficulty and involved great expenses that very few Indian succeeded.

Statutory Civil Service Act (1870)

As the representation of Indians in the Superior Civil Service was not quite sufficient, the Government of India passed in 1870 the Statutory Civil Service Act (which came into effect in 1879) which empowered the Viceroy to nominate not more than one-Sixth of the total number of covenanted civil servants appointed in any year by the Secretary of State from the Indians. These officers so recruited by the Viceroy were called "Statutory Civil Servants". But the system of nomination was despised by the Indians and they preferred open competitive examinations. The Indians also entreated that the examinations should be held simultaniously both in England and India. The lowering of the age limit to 19 in 1877 led to an agitation in India which inferentially added strength and hastened the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885.

The Atchison Commission (1886)

During the Viceroyalty of Lord Dufferin a "Public Survice Commission" was appointed in 1886 under the Chairmanship of Sir Charles Atchison. The Commission made in its report the following recommendations: (1) The idea of holding simultaneous examinations was rejected. (2) The Statutory Civil Service should be abolished. (3) Apart from the

Convenanted Civil Service, a new service called "Provincial Civil Service" should be constituted to recruit a number of persons hitherto reserved for the Convenanted Civil Service. The appointments to such posts were to be made by either directly or by promotion from the lower grades. The Covenanted Civil service should be called Imperial and uncovenanted, Provincial. (4) A "Subordinate Civil Service" under the Provincial Civil Service should be Constituted.

The recommendations of the Commission were accepted Thus three services, *viz.*, The Covenanted Civil Service (thenceforward called Indian Civil Service), Provincial Civil Service in each Province and Subordinate Civil Service came to stay in India. The division of the Service into three as Imperial, Provincial and Subordinate was extended to other units of administration such as Education, Police, Public works, Medical Departments, *etc.* The Englishmen filled the first category of service and the other two almost exclusively by Indians.

Resolution of 1893

Under this system the efficiency of the service remained at a higher standard but representation of Indians in higher services remained lower. A resolution was passed by the House of Commons in 1893 to conduct simultaneous examinations in England and India for the Indian Civil Service. But Lord Lansdowne's Government opposed the resolution on the ground that any reduction of the British Personnel in the service would be detrimental to the safety of the British rule in India and would weaken the British element in the Civil Service. So the resolution remained a still-born child However, the demand for simultaneous examinations was conceded in 1922. The first I.C.S. examination was conducted in Indian in that year itself.

Islington Commission (1912)

A Royal commission on the Public Services in India was set up in 1912 under the Chairmanship of Lord Islington. The report of the Commission was delayed till 1917 owing to the outbreak of

the First World War. The report laid down that in addition to the recruitment of Indians to the I.C.S. through the London examination, 25% of the posts of the Superior Civil Service should be set apart for Indians to be filled in party by direct recruitment and partly by promotion from the lower grades. The report further recommended for conducting an examination in India to recruit civilians,

Montagu-Chelmsford Report (1918)

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report of 1918 approached the problem of Indianising the Indian Civil Service in a liberal and sympathetic manner. It made the following recommendations: (1) At least 33% of the superior posts should be recruited from among Indians and every year 1½% should be added to this till a Statutory Commission was appointed to revise the situation. (2) The report deprecated the practice of racial distinctions in the matter of appointments. (3) For all the Public Services for which there was a system of recruitment in England, the report recommended for a corresponding system of recruitment in India also.

The growing Indianisation of the Services was viewed with great concern by the British element in the Services. But to make matters still unfavourable for Indians, a scheme was introduced based on the Montagu-Chelmsford report. According to this scheme, the All India Officers selected for appointment before 1st January, 1920 and not permanently employed were allowed to retire.

Lee Commission (1923)

A Royal Commission under Lord Lee was set up in 1923 to remove certain administrative difficulties which cropped up regarding the services and ministers as a result of the introduction of Diarchy in the Provinces. It submitted its report in 1924 and most of its recommendations were enforced. It recommended that All India Officers who come under the Reserved Departments such a Indian Civil Service, Indian Police Service, Indian Forest Service, etc., should continue to be appointed by the Secretary of State in Council. The services in the Transferred Departments such as

Indian Educational Service, Indian Agricultural Service, *etc.*, should be controlled by the Provincial Governments, excepting the Indian Medical Service. For this particular service, alone, each province was directed to appoint a certain number of medical personnel from the Medical Department of the Army in India. The problem of Indianisation of the Services was also dealt with. It was laid down that the Services were to be still under the control of the Secretary of State. 20 percent of the posts should be filled by promotion from Provincial Civil Services. The remaining 80% should be shared equally by British and Indian officers. On the basis of the recommendation of the Lee Commission, a Public Service Commission consisting of 5 members was set up in 1925.

Simon Commission (1927) and the Govt. of India Act 1935

The Simon Commission of 1927 gave some valuable suggestions regarding the services in India. They were put into force by the Government of India Act 1935. It made provision for the setting up of a Federal Public Service Commission and Provincial Public Service Commissions. The Commissions were purely advisory bodies. The names recommended by them for appointments might be either accepted or rejected by the ministers.

10. GROWTH OF LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

Introduction

The history of local self-government in India dates back to very ancient times. The village communities of very early times, the Sabha and the Samiti—the two popular assemblies—of early times and village panchayats in the medieval and Mughal periods existed as units of local self-government with a considerable amount of local autonomy. But self-governing local institutions in the modern sense never existed before the advent of the British. The modern type of representative local bodies answerable to a group of electors and enjoying a wider degree of legislative and executive powers and serving as a training-ground in responsibility and forming a vital link in the institutional set-up that go to make up the government structure of a country never existed. Local bodies such as Municipalities, District Boards, Corporations, *etc.*, reflecting the above

mentioned features were mainly the products of the British rule in India

Lord Mayo's Resolution (1870)

Though the history of modern local self-governing institutions began with the setting up of a Municipal Corporation at Madras in 1687, real progress in the field was, however, made only during the time of Lord Mayo (1869-1872). Lord Mayo's Resolution of 1870 made provision for a scheme of local self-government. Services such as education, sanitation and roads were left to the care of local bodies. Based on the Resolution, a series of Municipal acts were passed for the various provinces. Municipal Boards were increased and their powers were extended. Though Lord Mayo branded his measure as an attempt to introduce local self-government with the object of associating Indians, it was purely a financial measure. He wanted to relieve the Imperial finances from the burden of local expenditure. So his scheme for the development of local self-government and association of Indians did not yield the desired results.

Lord Ripon's Resolution (1882) Father of indian local self-govern.

Decentralisation of administrative and financial control took rapid strides during the administration of Ripon. He issued the famous resolution on local self-government in 1882. It authorised the provincial governments to set up District and Taluk Boards charged with certain duties and entrusted with appropriate funds. The scheme provided great scope for the development of rural self-government. The resolution clearly laid dywn that there should be a non-official preponderance in all these boards and made provision for the election of members wherever it might be thought feasible. Under the new scheme, the local boards got control over the administration of roads, education, sanitation, *etc.* The powers of the Municipalities were increased and they looked after sanitation, water supply, primary education, *etc.* Provision was made for the election of the Chairman. All these reforms were intended for the "extension of local self-government primarily as an instrument of political and popular education".

The main purpose of Ripon's Resolution was to train the Indians in the art of self-government and leave local affairs to be managed by local bodies on smooth and efficient lines. The Resolution richly deserves to be called the Magna Carta of local self-government as the scope of the scheme was much wider. The Resolution was not devoid of defects. Though there was a preponderance of non-official element in all the boards, official control remained stronger. Though the Boards and Municipalities were saddled with responsibility, sufficient funds were not provided with for the execution of their schemes. In spite of these defects, the Resolution was really a landmark in the history of Local self-government in India. Ripon is rightly called the "Father of Local self-government".

Decentralisation Commission (1907)

A Royal Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir Charles Hobhouse was appointed in 1907 to submit a report on the progress made in the field of local self-government. The Commission in its report pointed out that sufficient progress was not made due to undue official control, narrow franchise, inadequate resources, lack of education and paucity of the right type of men with the push and the dash to man the local boards. The recommendations of the Commission formed the basis of the Resolution of 1915. But before the Resolution could be put into effect, Montagu's Declaration of 1917 completely changed the entire situation. In the changed atmosphere, a new Resolution was carried out in 1918. The following recommendations were made in the Resolution. (1) It was required that in all Municipal Committees or Rural Boards, the elected members should constitute a substantial majority. The principle of nomination was however to be retained so as to give representation to minorities. (2) It was laid down that the Chairman of local bodies should be elected non-officials andnot officials as was the practice hitherto. (3) To give a more representative outlook to the local boards, the Resolution recommended the enlargement of the franchise to the extent possible. (4) It recommended the appointment of special executive officers in larger Municipalities and District Boards which were overdozed with adminis-

trative work. (5) The local bodies should have absolute freedom to impose and collect taxes within the limits prescribed by law. They should have a free hand in the budget. (6) The service conditions of the permanent officers of the local boards and their subordinates such as Secretary, Executive Officer, Health Officer, Engineer, *etc.*, should be determined by the Indian Government. (7) The highlight of the Resolution was its recommendation for the establishment of Panchayats throughout the Country.

Local Self-Government under Diarchy—(1919)

Under the system of Diarchy, local self-government came under the "Transferred subjects". It is needless to say here that the Governor-in-Council administered the "Reserved Subjects" and the Governor acting with Indian ministers the "Transferred Subjects". Thus the administration of the provinces was entrusted to two bodies—the Governor-in-Council and the Governor acting with the ministers. The former body was responsible to the Central Government and the latter was responsible to the provincial legislature. The Indian minister who administered the subject of local self-government had no real power and had to discharge his duties under severe handicaps. Paucity of funds stood as a stumbling block in his way. The finance department was under the "Reserved Subjects". So he was forced to depend on it for funds. When large requisitions were made, only fractions were granted.

Local Self-Government under Provincial Autonomy

The Government of India Act 1935 granted provincial autonomy. In the light of the altered set-up, work went ahead to improve the composition and functions of local bodies. In many of the provinces, the nominated element in the local bodies was completely discarded. Under the new set-up, the Govenor was required to carry on the administration of the province on the advice tendered by the Indian ministers. But it did not improve matters. The sweeping powers enjoyed by the Governor, Governor-General and above all the British Parliament, made the operation of Provincial Autonomy a veritable farce. So progress was slow in all the departments. The department of local self-government was no exception to this. In spite of the fact that the Congress ministries came to power in

1937, no progress was achieved in the field of local self-government due to the resignation of the ministries in 1939 and the outbreak of World War II. Above all, the country was engulfed in the wave of the national movement.

11. GROWTH OF EDUCATION

Introduction

The system of higher education before the advent of the British rule was not upto the mark. The *Pundits* in Pathsalas and *Maulvis* in the Mosques imparted knowledge to a negligible percentage of the people. At the primary level, Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, Arithmetic and religious legends were taught. At the higher level, subjects such as grammar, literature, philosophy, law and religious texts were taught. Western system of education was not introduced.

In the beginning, the East India Company did not evince keen interest in educating the Indians. This was mainly due to its preoccupation in trade. Anyhow, Warren Hastings started a *Madrasa* in Calcutta in 1781 with a view to entertaining Indians in the service of the Company. Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 to encourage oriental studies. Jonathan Duncan, the Resident of Benaras, opened a Sanskrit College in the holy city in 1792.

Charles Grant, a Civil Servant of the Company, tried to impress on the Court of Directors and the House of Commons of the dire need of introducing English education and Western science in India to eradicate the deep-rooted social abuses and religious superstitions. But his efforts bore no fruit.

Missionary Activities

The initiative of introducing English education which should have been undertaken by the Company was made good by Christian Missionaries in Madras and Bengal. William Carey, a Baptist Missionary arrived at Calcutta in 1793. He started many missionary schools in Bengal and introduced English Education. Missionary schools had already been set up in Madras. The footprints of Carey were faithfully followed by missionaries such as David Hare and enlightened Indians such as Raja Rammohan

Roy. Thanks to the work of David Hare and Raja Rammohan Roy many English schools were started including the Hindu College in 1817 which later on developed into the Presidency College.

Charter Act of 1813 — Anglicists vs. Orientalists

The Charter Act of 1813 made a provision for spending one lakh of rupees on the study of Sanskrit and Arabic. In 1833, it was decided that the sum in question should be spent for the spread of English language and Western science. This led to a conflict between the Orientalists led by H. H. Wilson and the Anglicists led by Macaulay. But the issue was ultimately settled by a minute of Macaulay. He was then a member of the Governor-General's Council. He severely criticised the stand taken by the Orientalists and explainad in chapter and verse the advantages of the English language and western science. But Macaulay saw only one side of the question. He undermined the importance of Oriental learning and made a fantastic statement that, "a single shelf of good European Library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia". In 1835, the Governor- General made an announcement that the amount should be diverted to the spread of English education only. English became the official language and medium of instruction in Colleges. In a way, it proved to be a blessing in disguise. English supplied "the language of unity and the structure of unity". In the words of Roberts: "We attempted to raise a race of adminstrators on the literature of revolt".

Regulation of Lord Hardinge I

A regulation of Lord Hardinge I laid down that all appointments to government services would be made after conducting an open competitive examination, preference being given to people who possess a knowledge of English.

Charles Wood's Despatch (1854)

Among other things reviewed during the renewal of the Charter of the Company in 1853, an enquiry was made about the system of education in India. It resulted in the famous Educational Despatch (1854) of Sir Charles Wood, the then President of the Board of Control. The Despatch sketched a comprehensive scheme of

primary, secondary, and collegiate education and made provision for the establishment of Universities in India. It recommended the establishment of Department of Education in each of the four provinces. The Director General of Education was to be the head of such departments. Private enterprise in the educational field was to be entertained and such private institutions should be given grants - in - aid. It also recommended a system of scholarships to brilliant and outstanding students to further their studies in schools and colleges.

The Wood's Despatch no doubt covered another milestone in the history of education. It formed the basis of the present system of education. There was an all-round progress in higher education after 1854. The three Universities of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta were founded in 1857. The Lahore University was set up in 1882 and the Allahabad University in 1887. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Mayo, the department of education was provincialised in 1870.

Hunter's Education Commission (1882)

A commission of 20 members under W. W. Hunter was appointed in 1882 to enquire into the state of education. The Commission in its report pointed out that primary education had not made sufficient progress. Due to too much governmental control of education, it had become a dull and routine affair. So it advocated the gradual Indianisation of education, *i. e.*, the gradual withdrawal of governmental control and the transference of such institutions to the natives. The report recommended greater reliance on private enterprise. On the basis of the report, regulations were laid down for increasing the number and improving the quality of primary and secondary schools. Secondary schools run by private managements were encouraged by grants-in-aid. As a result of these measures, the number of schools and colleges increased.

Raleigh's Commission (1904)

Lord Curzon convened a conference of educational experts at Simla in 1901. In 1904, a University Commission was appointed under Releigh to study the condition of education in India and

submit its report. In the light of the report was passed the Indian Universities Act of 1904. The act tightened the control of the Government over all higher education. Rules and regulations regarding the affiliation of colleges to Universities were made more strict. The nominated members of the Senate and Syndicate—the governing bodies of the University—were made greater in number. The act did not do anything to improve University education. It only attempted to officialize the Universities and Europeanise the Senate and Syndicate. It aimed at imparting higher education for the classes only and not for the masses. It was no wonder that the act was vehemently critised by Indians such as Gokhale.

The Resolution of 1913

The Universities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras set up in 1857, Lahore in 1882 and Allahabad in 1887 remained as mere examining bodies with power to affiliate colleges. But the Indian Universities Act of 1904 enabled the Universities to begin teaching and controlling the affiliated colleges. The Government of India Resolution 1913 enabled the starting of residential and teaching Universities. The Benaras Hindu University (1916), Mysore (1916), Patna (1917) and Osmania (1918) were the Universities set up based on the resolution.

The Sadler Commission (1917)

The Calcutta University Commission under the chairmanship of Michael Sadler recommended the establishment of more residential Universities. The report of the Commission formed the basis for the establishment of the Aligarh Muslim University (1920), Lucknow (1921), Dacca (1921), Delhi (1922), Nagpur (1923), Andhra (1926), Agra (1927), Annamalai (1929), Travancore University (1937), Utkal, (1943), Saugar (1946) and Rajasthan (1947). After independence, many Universities were set up.

Progress of Education between 1919 and 1947

Under the Government of India Act 1919, education came under the "transferred subjects" administered by Indian Ministers. Though remarkable progress was not achieved in the field, considerable progress was made. This was mainly due to the over-all power

wielded by the Governor and the Government of India as the general policy of higher education was still in their hands. The Inter-University Board was set up in 1925 to co-ordinate the work of University activities. The Hartog Commission of 1928 under the Chairmanship of Sir Philip Hartog expressed its appreciation at the rapid spread of education in India and expressed its dissatisfaction at the deteriorating condition of instruction in educational institutions. Under the Government of India Act 1935, the department of education along with the control of its policies came under the complete control of the provinces. The Wardha Scheme of Education of 1938 sponsored by Gandhiji outlined a scheme for the promotion of primary education. The Sargeant Scheme of Education of 1944 under the Chairmanship of Sir John Sargeant gave valuable recommendations for the promotion of primary as well as higher education. It recommended free and compulsory education for boys and girls between 6 and 14. The scheme envisaged a proposal for stricter admission to schools and colleges. Only promising and brilliant students had the chance of getting admission into schools and colleges.

The Radhakrishnan Commission (1949)

After independence, a University Commission under the Chairmanship of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan was set up in 1948. The Commission submitted its report in 1949. It recommended the setting up of rural Universities on the model of Santiniketan, more scholarship to poor students, the continuation of English as the medium of instruction in colleges, English to be gradually replaced by Hindi and the regional languages, more funds for education, co-education at the school as well as at the college level, *etc.* It emphasised the need for qualified teachers. At the University level, the teachers were divided into four categories, *viz.*, professors, readers, lecturers and instructors.

University Grants Commission

The University Grants Commission was set up in 1956 to promote and co-ordinate University education and advance aid to improve libraries, laboratories and teaching standards.

Results of Western System of Education

The introduction of English education more than anything else fostered the bonds of unity. The spread western education and science changed the outlook of the people. The study of European History and constitutional principles helped the people to imbibe ideas of democracy and nationalism which ultimately led to the independence of India. Social and religious reforms of a far-reaching nature were introduced in India during the 19th century. The wave of reforms in these two fields became more virulent during the latter half of the 19th century. The impetus for these reforms came from the introduction of English education and the liberal ideas of the West. The fetters of orthodoxy and superstitious beliefs broke into pieces and India passed through a period of new awakening. Vernacular literature made great progress due to the spread of the English language. Literary productions in the vernacular on Western lines poured in profusion. The writings of Ravindranath Tagore, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Madhusudan Datta, Hemachandra Bandyopadhyay and Iswarachandra Gupta in Bengali, Gandhiji, Narmada Shankar and K. M. Munshi in Gujarati, Veeresalingam Pantulu in Telugu, Muhammad Iqbal in Urdu, Chandu Menon, C. V. Raman Pillai, Thankazhi Sivasangara Pillai, G. Sankara Kurup, Vallalthol Narayana Menon, A. R. Rajaraja Varma, Ullor Parameswara Iyer, Suranattu Kunjan Pillai and K. M. Panikkar in Malayalam and C. N. Annadurai, K. Appadurai, Vaiyapuri Pillai, R. P. Sethu Pillai, K. N. Kanagasabai Pillay and Sundaram Pillay in Tamil were based on modern ideas. The above-mentioned persons were greatly inspired by western education.

A systematic attempt was made to study the past history of India on a scientific basis. It rendered possible to unravel the mysteries of India's glorious past. The discovery of the Indus Valley Civilisation is a romance in the field of archaeology. Curzon took deep interest in the ancient monuments of India and passed the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904. A study of these monuments reminded the Indians of the

grandeur of their cultural heritage. The Indian way of life and their artistic pursuits were also influenced by the introduction of Western education. The introduction of Western education has produced writers in English such as Toru Dutt, Sarojini Naidu, Mulkh Raj Anand, K. Abbas, and R.K. Narayan and great scientists such as Sir C. V. Raman, J. C. Bose, S. N. Bose, Dr. Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar and Dr. Meghnad Saha. From among public figures, the great writers in English are Gandhiji, Nehru, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Aurobindo, Lajpat Rai, Dr. Radhakrishnan and C. Rajagopalachari.

12. HISTORY OF THE PRESS IN INDIA

Introduction

The history of the Press in India begins with the British rule. The importance of the Press as an effective weapon for the dissemination of news and knowledge was hardly understood by the natives. As a result of their contact with the British, numerous journals and newspapers sprang up. The pioneer in this field was James Augustus Hicky who started a weekly called *Bengal Gazette in* 1780. Soon other papars such as the *Calcutta Gazette*, the *Indian World, Telegraph, etc.*, followed suit. In the beginning, of course, the papers provided only amusement to the people by publishing scandalous and scurrilous personal attacks against men of high rank and position. It was no wonder that it inaugurated the period of the long-drawn-out tug-of-war between the officials and the Press. The struggle ended in the victory of the Press winning its freedom.

Press under Warren Hastings and Cornwallis

The Indian Press did not pull well in the beginning. It came into clash with the authorities at the helm of affairs. Warren Hastings (1772-1785) and Cornwallis (1786-1793) were not favourably disposed to the Press. They did not relish and stuff published by the Press which criticised the policy of the government. Mr. Hicky, the editor of the *Bengal Gazette*, came into headlong collision with Warren Hastings. On charges of libel, Hicky was imprisoned and his journal was suspended

in 1782. Between 1780 and 1793 six more papers were started. Mr. Duane, the editor of the *Indian World* published such obnoxious stuff that Cornwallis was not able to stomach. He was imprisoned, humiliated and deported to Europe.

The Press under Wellesly and Minto

With Wellesley's Governor-Generalship (1798-1805) started a period of regular Press Laws in India. As there was a possible invasion of India by France, Wellesley adopted stringent measures towards the Press. Lest secrets would be leaked out to the French enemy, Wellesley established censorship of the Press in 1799. Charles Maclean, the editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru*, was taken to task for violating the rules and regulations. More stringent rules were laid on the Press during the time of Minto (1807-1813) in view of the French menace. Many editors were brought to book during his time.

The Press under Lord Hastings

Lord Hastings (1813-1823) allowed freedom of action to this Press and removed the censorship imposed on it by Wellesley. This did not mean that the Press breathed the oxygen of freedom completely. He laid down certain rules in 1818 for the guidance of the papers with a view to preventing the publication of objectionable matters prejudicial to British interests and the feelings of any nation. With the removal of the censorship of the Press, many papers and journals appeared. The first vernacular newspaper (Samachar Darpana) a weekly was started during his period. Another weekly started in the vernacular was the *Sambada Kaumudi*. The *Calcutta Journal* was started as a bi-weekly paper in English by Buckingham in 1818.

Press under Adam, Amherst and Bentinck

Adam, the officiating Governor-General (1823) after Hastings and Lord Amherst (1823-1828), followed a repressive policy towards the Press. As Buckingham, the editor of the *Calcutta Journal*, did not even spare the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Governor of Madras and the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, he was

deported from the country by Adam. He did not stop with this. He went a step further and issued a rigorous Press Ordinance in 1823 which required every publisher of a newspaper to obtain a licence from the Governor-General-in-Council. Enlightened Indians like Raja Rammohan Roy raised a storm of protest against this ordinance. Lord Amherst suppressed such papers as *Calcutta Chronicle*, the *Bombay Gazette* and the *Statesman*. Bentinck (1828-1835) followed a liberal and enlightened policy towards the Press. Though the ordinance was in force till 1835, he did not take any action against any newspaper.

Charles Metcalfe, the Liberator of the Press

The vigorous Press Ordinance remained in force from 1823 to 1835. This was repealed by Sir Charles Metcalfe, the officiating Governor-General, in 1835. As a result of this, the Indian Press began to breathe the air of liberty as its counterpart in England. The net effect of this liberal policy was that Charles Metcalfe was recalled in 1835. He sacrificed the favour of his countrymen to the blessings of the Indians.

Licensing Act of 1857

The Indian Press inhaled free air from 1835 to 1857. The outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857 warranted the Government to put restrictions on the Press. By the Licensing Act of 1857, the Governor-General-in-Council was empowered to issue licences to newspapers. This restriction was only of a temporary nature lasting for one year. In spite of these restrictions, the number of papers was on the increase from the sixties onwards. These papers greatly aroused the political and national consciousness of the people.

Act of 1867

In order to regulate the printing presses, papers and books, the Act of 1867 was passed. This act along with some subsequent amendments is still a part of the Press laws.

Vernacular Press Act of 1878

The Vernacular Press Act of 1878 nicknamed, "The Gagging Act" was passed during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton. An imperialist by instinct he was not able to tolerate dangerous and objectionable

materials published detrimental to British interests. So he adopted repressive measures against the Press. The act empowered a Magistrate with the previous sanction of the Provincial Government "to call upon Printers and Publishers to deposit security or enter into a bond binding them not to publish or print seditious matters or in the alternative to submit proofs to the official censor and not to print the rejected matter. In case of default or necessity, the security of the printer might be confiscated". The act raised a storm of protest in the country. But all representations and entreaties to Lyttons went unheeded. The discriminatory treatment to the vernacular newspapers did not last long. The Vernacular Press Act or the Gagging Act was repealed by Lord Ripon (1880-1884) in 1882. He gave freedom to the vernacular newspapers to express their opinions concerning political, social and economic problems.

The Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908

Eversince the partition of Bengal in 1905, the anti-British feeling increased to great proportions. This resulted in many political crimes, outrages and murders. So it was deemed necessary to adopt more stringent measures against the Press. The outcome of this changed outlook was The Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908. The act empowered a Magistrate to confiscate a Press if it published matters inciting violence. However an appeal lay to the High Court within 13 days of the date of the order of the Magistrate.

The Indian Press Act, 1910

As the provisions of the act of 1908 were found inadequate to stop the dissemination of seditious literature, a more stringent and comprehensive act was passed in 1910. The Indian Press Act, 1910 classified seditious offences to 16 groups and laid down that the keepers of the printing presses and publishers of newspapers to deposit with the Magistrate a security amount ranging from Rs. 500 to Rs. 2,000. Provision was also made for the forfeiture of the said amount to His Majesty for the publication of seditious matter. In case of an offence committed followed by forfeiture of the security amount, the fresh security amount ranged from Rs. 1,000 to Rs.

10,000. The commission of the offence a second time entailed not only the forfeiture of the security amount but also the Press. The rigours of the Act affected many presses and newspapers. Under the Act many publications were penalised, many presses had to be closed down because of the security amount and many newspapers had to be stopped. This act remained in force till 1922. It was under this act that many Indian leaders such as Tilak were arrested.

Repeal and Amendment Act, 1922

The Act of 1910 raised a hue and cry in the country. The efforts of the people to relax the rigours of the act did not go unheeded. The government appointed a Committee under Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the first Indian Law Member, to examine the working of the act. On the basis of the report of the Committee, the Repeal and Amendment Act, 1922 was passed which repealed the Act of 1910.

The Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931

Though no significant change was noted in the history of the Press after 1922, the national movement made rapid strides. Gandhiji started the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930. The Press stood as the mouthpiece of the leaders in the liberation front. So stringent measures against the Press became imperative from the point of view of the Indian Government. So the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act was passed in 1931. The object of the act was to check the publication of that matter which incited or encouraged murder or violence. The act laid down that the keepers of the Printing Presses should deposit their securities with the government. The Provincial Government was empowered to forfeit the security in certain cases. In case of an offence committed followed by the forfeiture of the security amount, the fresh security amount ranged from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 10,000. It was left to the discretion of the Magistrate to fix the exact amount to be deposited. The act laid down penalties on those who published things without depositing the security. The provisions of the act applied to publishers of books and newspapers also. Provision was made in the act empowering the High Court to hear applications to set aside the order of forfeiture.

The scope of this act was so all-embracing that it included almost all political occurrences. The publication of the arrests of leaders, lathi charges, portraits, mention of the names of the leaders of the national movement, advertisements about meetings, *etc.*, were offences under the act. The arbitrary nature of the law let loose such a reign of terror that many presses and newspapers not only incurred monetary losses but also threatened their very existence.

Foreign Relations Act, 1932

Hardly had one year elapsed after the passing of the Indian Press Act, 1931, than the Government of India was forced to enact the Foreign Relations Act of 1932. The object of the act was to prevent the publication of any books or newspapers containing defamatory remarks against friendly foreign states adjoining the frontiers of India so as to ensure friendly relations without any prejudice to their interests.

Indian States (Protection) Act, 1934

The purpose of the act was to protect the native states and their rulers from the unreasonable attacks of the newspapers of British India and to suppress the bands or organisations from entering into the states with a view to spreading disaffection among the people. This law remained in force till the exit of the British. During the Second World War an effective control over the Press was laid by the Defence of India Act and the Defence of India Rules.

History of the Press after Independence

After India achieved independence, the most noteworthy feature in Indian Journalism was the formation of the Press Trust of India Ltd. The duty of this organisation is to furnish news to India and transmit Indian news to outside world. This was done by entering into an agreement with the Reuters. The Indian Press now enjoys full freedom. Though Freedom of the press is not explicitly stated in the Constitution, it can be inferred from Article 19 of the Constitution guaranteeing freedom of speech and expression. The Press (Objectionable Matter) Act was passed in 1951. By this act

the pre-censorship was put an end to. The act laid down that objectionable matter which may incite violence, sabotage or murder and which may undermine the prestige of the government should not be printed. Though security could not be demanded, yet for the publication of objectionable matter the same could be demanded. Even in this case, the security amount was to be decided by the Sessions Judge and not by the executive. An appeal lay to the high Court in all cases. The life of this act was extended for two years in 1954 and now it has lapsed. In recent years Parliament has passed various acts with regard to the Press such as the Delivery of Books and Newspapers (Public Libraries) Act, 1954, the Working Journalists' (Conditions of Service) and Miscellaneous Provisions Act, 1955, the Newspaper (Price and Page) Act, 1956, Parliamentary Proceedings (Protection of Publication) Act, 1960, *etc.* The Press Council of India was constituted on July 4, 1966 under the Press Council Act of 1965. The Council consisted of a Chairman nominated by the Chief Justice of India and 25 other members. The chief object of the council is "to preserve the freedom of the Press and to maintain and improve the standards of newspapers in India". The Press Act as amended on March 31, 1970 gave representation for the first time to News Agencies in the Press Council. The four main News Agencies were (1) Press Trust of India, (2) United News of India, (3) Samachar Bharati and (4) Hindustan Samachar. While the first two furnished news in English, the last two supplied multi-lingual news. Apart from these four main News Agencies there were various news-cum feature agencies and regional news services which furnished all source material to Indian newspapers. The Press Council of India was abolished in 1976 and all the news agencies were integrated into a single News Agency called Samachar.

During emergency, the Parliamentary Proceedings (Protection of Publication) Act popularly known as Feroze Gandhi Act and the Press (Objectionable Matter Act) were repealed. By the first the freedom given to the Press to publish true reports of the proceedings of Parliament was taken back. By the second,

pre-censorship was revived. But after the emergency Parliament restored to the Press these two freedoms by passing the Parliamentary Proceedings (Protection of Publication). Bill and the Prevention of Objectionable Matter (Repeal) Bill in 1977. The Press Council is to be revived. The Samachar is now split up into the old four news agencies and they are functioning independently.

13. IMPACT OF BRITISH RULE ON INDIA

Political

A regular growth in the constitutional history of India begins with the British rule. Barring the isolated "Arthasastra" of Kautilya—a treatise on statecraft —there was no well-thought-out attempt either on the part of the Hindus or Muslims to develop permanent institutions in the country. We owe to the British the persent parliamentary system of government. It is with the Regulating Act of 1773 that the constitutional history of the British rule in India begins because it was that act which gave the Company a new constitution. It formed the nucleus for the Indian Republican Constitution of 1950. They gave substance and permanence to administrative institutions. A uniform system of law was laid down. The Rule of Law guaranteed equality before law. Though there were stray cases like the Ilbert Bill which denied equality before law, the nobler sentiments of the concept were not neglected and they took deep roots into the minds of the people. The Rule of Law is perhaps the greatest legacy of Britain to India. The British set up a higher standard of Government. A Famine Commission was appointed in 1880 for the first time during the Viceroyalty of Lord Lytton to enquire into the causes of famiaes and suggest remedial measures for future guidance. The Commission's report submitted in 1880 formed the basis of the existing remedial measures. They carried on a war against cholera, malaria and plague. Public works of great utility were undertaken. To Dalhousie goes the credit of initiating a number of irrigation works. He reorganised and reconstructed the Public Works Department and allotted more funds to public utility schemes. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Lawrence,

he inaugurated a new policy by which extensive irrigation schemes were undertaken with the help of public loans. The Agra Canal (1874), the Lower Ganges Canal (1878), and the Sirhind Canel (1882) were the outcome of this scheme. The Lower Chenab Canal was constructed between 1890 and 1899. All these schemes brought vast areas of wasteland under the plough. A scientific forest policy was followed for the preservation of forest. They greatly contributed to the development of transport and communications. In this respect, the Governor-Generalship of Lord Dalhousie was unique. He is considered as the father of Indian Railways and Telegraphs. Before he laid down his office, the country was filled with patches of railway lines here and there and new lines were under construction. He also introduced two powerful engines of consolidation — telegraph and the half-anna postage. He constructed new roads and canals. He reorganised and reconstructed the Public Works Department and allotted more fueds to public utility schemes. The cheap means of transport and communications unconsciously fostered the bonds of national unity. The Government passed many factory laws to improve and better the conditions of labourers. Self-governing local institutions in the mordern sense never existed before the advent of the British. The modern type of representative local bodies answerable to a group of electors and enjoying a wider degree of legislative and executive powers and serving as a training-ground in responsibility and forming a vital link in the institutional set-up that go to make up the government structure of a country never existed. Local bodies such as Municipalities, District Boards, Corporations, *etc.*, reflecting the above-mentioned features were mainly the products of the British rule in India.

The impersonal British administration in India strengthened our bonds of unity and national solidarity. This was the greatest service rendered by the British. All the people of India rising as one nation in the recent Indo-Pakistan conflict is an ample testimony to this. The British administration provided sufficient opportunities for the spread of the ideas of liberty and democracy. It also gave the people adequate political training in the art of government and

gradually prepared the country for self-government. The principles of parliamentary domocracy have taken deep roots in Indian soil. This is evident from the fact that while the neighbouring countries have fallen victims to military coups or are being threatened with military dictratorships. India alone stands as an oasis among a Sahara of such coups. This is the richest heritage left by the British.

Social

The growth of British power in India produced far-reaching results in the social life of the people. In India, the aristocracy freely mingled with the English and were greatly benefited. They obtained the services of European doctors and artists. But the attitude adopted by the middle-class towards the Europeans was one of supreme disdain .In the beginning, the British freely participated in the social entertainments of the Indians. But with the growth in the power of the Company, they became victims to superiority complex and dissociated themselves from the Indians.

Social and religious reforms of a far-reaching nature were introduced in India during the 19th century. The wave of reforms in these two fields became more virulent during the latter half of the 19th century. The impetus for these reforms came from the introduction of English education and the liberal ideas of the West. The fetters of orthodoxy and superstitious beliefs broke into pieces and India passed through a period of new awakening. Liberal minded social reformers like Bentinck eradicated many social evils. He abolished Sati in 1829 in the teeth of the opposition of the people. Enlightened Indians like Raja Rammohan Roy supported the measure. Bentinck succeeded to a great extent in suppressing famale infanticide which existed in Rajputana, the Punjab, Malwa, Cutch and Kathiawar. He also checked human sacrifices among some tribes in Madras. It was the introduction of English education that led to many sweeping social and religious reforms. Raja Rammohan Roy preached against blind-belief and orthodoxy. Many other Hindu social reformers came forward and completely

modernised Hindu society and thought. Widow remarriage and inter-caste marriage became common. Child marriage and purdah system and polygamy were done away with. The Sarda Act of 1929 fixed the lowest limit of age for marriage at 14 for girls and 18 for boys. Untouchability was done away with. Women's education was promoted.

Cultural

The introduction of English education more than anything else fostered the bonds of unity. During the time of Bentinck, Macaulay submitted a Minute on Education. It introduced English as the medium of instruction in schools and colleges. The spread of western education and science changed the outlook of the people. The study of European history and constitutional principles helped the people to imbibe ideas of democracy and nationalism which finally led to the independence of India. Vernacular literature made great progress due to the spread of the English language. Literary productions in the vernacular on western lines poured in profusion. The writings of Rabindranath Tagore, Bankim Chandra Chatterji, Madhusudan Datta, Hemachandra Bandyopadhyay and Eswarachandra Gupta in Bengali, Gandhiji, Narmada Shankar and K. M. Munshi in Gujarathi, Veerasalingam Pantulu in Telugu, Muhammad Iqbal in Urdu, Chandu Menon, C.V. Raman Pillai, Thakazhi Sivasankara Pillay, G. Sankara Kurup, Vallathol Narayana Menon, A. R. Rajaraja Varma, Ullor Parameswara Iyer, Suranattu Kunjan Pillai and K M. Panikkar in Malayalam and C.N. Annadurai, K. Appadurai, Vaiyapuri Pillai, R. P. Sethu Pillai, K. N. Kanagasabai Pillai and Sundram Pillai in Tamil were based on modern ideas. The arove-mentioned persons were greatly inspired by western education.

A systematic attempt was made to study the past history of India on a scientific basis. James Prinsep deciphered the ancient Brahmi script which made it possible to read the Asokan edicts. James Fergussion's books—Rock cut Temples of India and the History of Indian and Eastern Architecture—are masterpieces in architecture. Other European writers like Vincent Smith, Tod,

Elliot, Dowson, Grant Duff, Mackenzie and Elphinstone contributed a good deal to unravel the mysteries of India's glorious Past. Curzon took deep interest in the ancient monuments of India and passed the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904. A study of these monuments reminded the Indians of the grandeur of their cultural heritage. The Indian way of life and their artistic pursuits were also influenced by the introduction of Western education. The introduction of Western education has produced writers in English such as Toru Dutt, Sarojini Naidu, Mulkh Raj Anand, K. Abbas, and R.K. Narayan and great scientists such as Sir C. V. Raman, J.C.Bose, S.N Bose, Dr Shanthi Swarup Bhatnagar and Dr. Meghnad Saha. From among public figures, the great writers in English are Gandhiji, Nehru, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Aurobindo, Lajpat Rai, Dr. Radhakrishnan and C. Rajagopalachari. The British made no contribution in the field of architecture. In the field of painting, a pseudo European style attempted to raise its head, but the Indian style continued to dominate the field. It was in the 16th century that the printing-press was introduced into India. Soon newspapers began to make their appearance. All the newspapers were vigorously censored by the government. Lord Hastings relaxed this vigorous censorship. Ripon repealed the "Vernacular Press Act" of Lytton. The repeal gave freedom to the Indian Press. This freedom enabled the Fourth Estate to act as the mouthpiece of India's aspirations during the freedom struggle. Vernacular literature made great progress during the British administration.

Economic

The material welfare of the people remained a neglected chapter during the British regime. India which was famous for her Dacca muslin, Kashmir shawls, articles of jewellery, ivory works, *etc.*, occupied an enviable position in the trading world. She was carrying on a lucrative trade with the other countries of the world. The Indian trade also began to decline towards the close of the 18th century and the process was completed during the middle of the 19th century. Thus from the beginning of the 19th century, the British East India Company carried on the entire volume of Indian

trade. In their attempt to convert India into a market for British goods, the British government sapped India's own manufacturing industries and gradually transformed India into an agricultural hinterland of Great Britain. Industries were never allowed to raise their heads. British goods flooded the Indian market and crippled the domestic industries. In spite of all these evil effects, we are greatly indebted to the British.

CHAPTER VIII

INDIA SINCE INDEPENDENCE

1. INDEPENDENCE AND AFTER

Introduction

August 14, 1947 marked the end of British rule in India. Under the inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, India saw the dawn of independence. On August 15, 1947 India became a self-governing dominion under the British Commonwealth of Nations. Never perhaps a new-born nation been forced to face too many thorny and pressing problems as that of India. But she rose to the occasion. With Gandhiji, the apostle of peace, as the guiding force, India crossed one obstacle after another under the spirited leadership of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of Independent India. The partition of India into India and Pakistan created fresh problems. Communal riots broke out in the Punjab and Bihar and in the cities of Bombay and Calcutta. Thousands of Hindus and Muslims were butchered. Much innocent blood was shed during the communal clashes. People in thousands poured as refugees to India from the blood-soaked regions of the Punjab and East Pakistan. Similarly many Muslims left for Pakistan as refugees. The rehabilitation of the refugees taxed the nerve of the Indian Government. To fill our cup of sorrow, Mahatma Gandhi was assassinated by a Hindu fanatic on January 30, 1948.

The economic condition of the country was far from satisfactory. The Second World War shook up the economic system of the country. "Produce or perish"—there was no other choice. The Nehru government tackled the situation bravely and tactfully. The abolition of the Zamindari system and the removal of untouchability have gone a long way in establishing a classless and casteless society. Under Nehru's able guidance, the country made rapid progress in all fronts.

Integration of Indian States

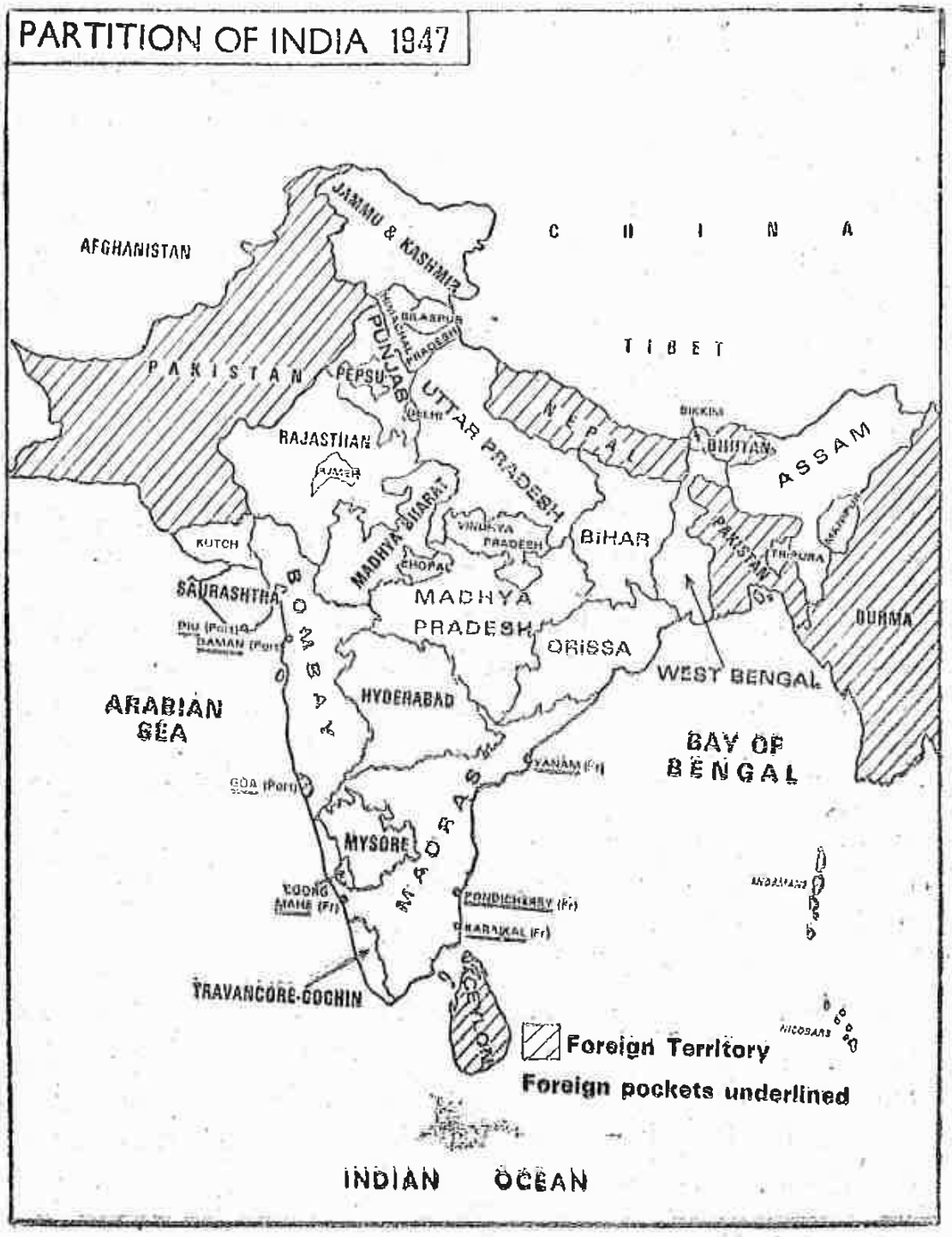
On the eve of the transfer of power, there were 565 Princely States. The existence of the Princely States created a constitutional

anomaly. The paramountcy of the British Crown with the Indian States would lapse with the transfer of power. So the Princely States would technically become independent. The Government of India had to evolve a new policy in its relations with the independent states. They were coaxed and cajoled to enter into agreements with the new government. The existence of a number of independent States would have disrupted the unity of India and the very purpose for which the liberation movement was started in India would have been set at nought. The integration of Indian states was the greatest feat of the Nehru Government. It was Sardar Patel, the Bismarck of India, who prevented the Balkanisation of the Country. Apart from Sardar Patel, the Iron man of India, V. P. Menon and Viscount Mountbatten also played an important part in the integration. The Integration of Indian States was accomplished in three forms. Some states merged with the adjoining provinces, some were grouped into separate units and others were transformed into centrally administered areas.

There was some hesitation on the part of some States like Travancore to accede to the Indian Union. But all the 552 States within the geographical limits of India with the exception of Junagath, Hyderabad and Kashmir acceded in the Indian Union before independence. The Nawab of Junagadh was an eccentric and he acceded to Pakistan. Junagadh is a sacred place to the Hindus next to Benaras. The people rebelled and later the State acceded to India. The Nizam of Hyderabad even sought the help of the U.N.O. After police action, Hyderabad was brought to her kness. She acceded to India on January 26, 1950. Though the Maharaja of Kashmir acceded to India on 26th October 1947, Kashmir still remains a bone of contention between India and Pakistan. A part of Kashmir (Azad Kashmir) is occupied by Pakistan. On the Kashmir question, Pakistan attacked India twice and they were repulsed.

When the Constitution of India was adopted on the 26th day of November 1949, India consisted of 9 Part A States, (the old British Indian Provinces), 8 Part B or Princely States, 10 Part C

or Centrally administered States and a part D territory. The Part A States are Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Orissa, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. The Part B states



are Hyderabad, Jammu and Kashmir, Madhya Bharat, Mysore, Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU), Rajasthan, Sourashtra and Travancore-Cochin. The Part C states are

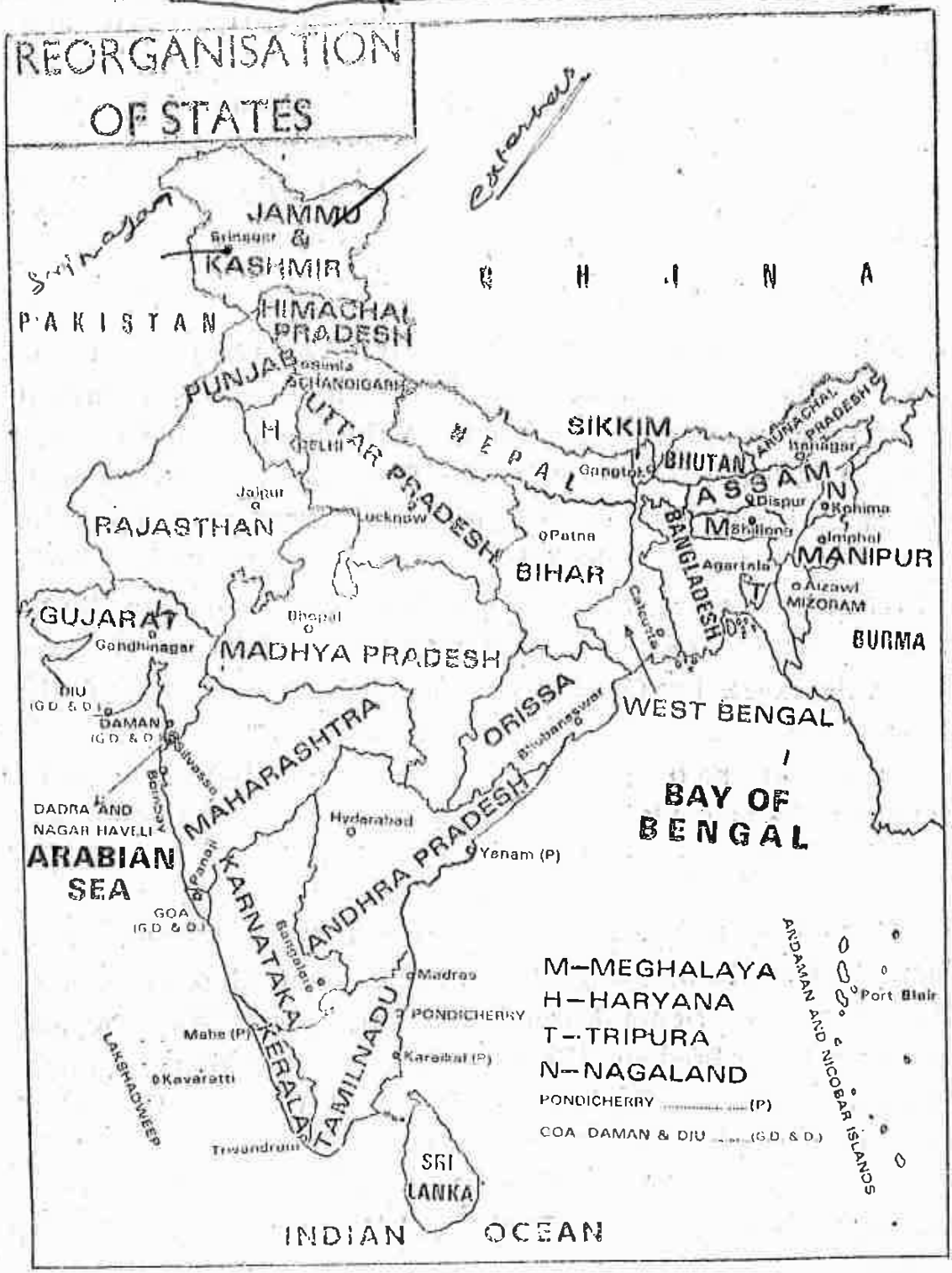
Ajmer, Bhopal, Bilaspur, Coorg, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Kutch, Manipur, Tripura and Vindhya Pradesh. The Part D Territory is the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The foreign pockets at that time were the Portuguese possessians of Goa, Daman and Diu and the French possessions of Mahe, Karaikal, Pondicherry and Yanam. India became a Republic on January 26, 1950. The Integration of Indian States and the framing of the Constitution with the willing consent of the people have contributed to the stability and further unity of the country.

Reorganisation of States

The Integration of Indian States solved only one part of the question. The reorganisation of the States on a sound basis invited the attention of the government next. A three-man committee consisting of Nehru, Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramiah was appointed. The committee was against the formation of States on a linguistic basis. This disappointed the Telugu-speaking people of the South and they started an agitation for the formation of Andhra State. Potti Sri Ramulu undertook a fast unto death and he sacrificed his life for the cause. The Government conceded to the demand of the people and the Andhra State came into existence in 1953. Andhra set an example for the reorganisation of States on a linguistic basis. This spread like a contagious disease and so other states were also reorganised on a linguistic basis.

At present India consists of 22 States. They are Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Karnataka, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh-Orissa, Manipur, Tripura, Meghalaya, Bihar, Bengal, Sikkim, Assam, Nagaland, Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh, Rajasthan, Punjab, Haryana and Jammu&Kashmir. On May 1, 1960 the Bombay State was divided into—Maharashtra and Gujarat. Nagaland became the 16th State on 1st December, 1963. On November 1, 1966, Punjab was divided into two States—Punjab and Harayna. On April 2, 1970 Mehalaya, an autonomous hill State within the State of Assam was born. On January 25, 1971 Himachal Pradesh, the 18th State was born. With the passing of the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Bill by Parliament in Dec. 1971, Manipur, Tripura and Meghalaya

have become full-fledged states. By the Constitution 35th amendment 1975, Sikkim became an associate state of India. By the Constitution 36th amendment 1975, Sikkim has become the 22nd



State under India. The Union Territories are Delhi, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Lakshadweep, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Gao,

Daman and Diu, Pondicherry, Chandigarh, Arunachal Pradesh (NEFA), and Mizoram. On February 1, 1970, Chandigarh was awarded to Punjab by the Centre. The award was to come into effect after five years. But the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab is now shelved. In Dadra and Nagar Haveli, the two Portuguese enclaves, the people revolted against Portuguese rule. Portugal wanted to suppress the revolt by taking her forces through Indian territory. But India refused permission. The International Court decided the case in favour of India and Dadra and Nagar Haveli became an Union Territory on August 11, 1961. Goa, Daman and Diu still remained with the Portuguese. They were captured from the Portuguese and added as an Union Territory on March 5, 1962. France transferred her territories to India Pondicherry was admitted as an Union Territory in 1962. Thus the last mark of colonialism was wiped out from the Indian soil. On July 15, 1965, NEFA came under the administration of the Central Government. Chandigarh became a Union Territory in 1966. With the passing of the North-Eastern Areas (Reorganisation) Bill by Parliament in Dec. 1971, Mizoram and Arunachal Pradesh have been carved out as Union Territories by reorganising the present Assam State. Mizo Hills district becomes Mizoram and NEFA becomes Arunachal Pradesh.

Planned Economy

India is a 'Welfare State'. It wants to set up a socialistic pattern of society. This implies centralised planning. India has adopted democratic planning. The pattern set is a mixed economy where public and private sectors co-exist. The government set up a Planning Commission to submit a draft outline of the First Five-year Plan.

The First Five-year Plan (1951-1956)

The First Five-year Plan gave priority to agriculture, power resources and transport. Agricultural production increased by 18%. In industry there was 40% increase. The National Income increased by 18%. In the generation of electric energy and the development of transport and communications great progress was acheived. The

total outlay of the plan was Rs. 2,356 crores. On the whole, the First Five-year Plan which set moderate targets was a great success. It prepared the base for future plans.

The Second Five-year Plan (1956-1961)

During the Second Five-year Plan, priority was given to industry and transport. The total outlay of the plan was reduced from Rs. 4,800 crores to 4,572 crores. The National Income increased by 20%. Agicultural production increased by 20%. Industy registered an increase of 41%. Steel plants were set up at Bhilai, Rourkela and Durgapur. The Second Plan was also a success.

The Third Five-year Plan (1961-1966)

The objective of the Third Five-year Plan was to achieve a balanced development both in agriculture and industry. The first priority was given to agriculture and the second to industry. The total outlay of the plan was Rs. 10,400 crores. When the plan was only an year and a half old, China invaded India. So planning became defence-oriented. Towards the closing stages of the plan period, Pakistan invaded India. So defence-oriented planning became all the more important. The Third Five-year Plan was not a complete success. National Income increased only by 2.5% as against the target of 5%.

Annual Plans (1966-67, 1967-68 and 1968-69)

The uncertain economic atmosphere warranted the postponement of the Fourth Five-year Plan which should have started by April 1, 1966. To maintain the continuity in the planning process, the Government of India started annual plans. So far, three annual plans were implemented.

The Fourth Five-year Plan (1969-1974)

The main objective of the Fourth Five-year Plan was "growth with stability". The plan envisaged to increase agricultural production by 5%, industrial production by 9%, control population through a vigorous family-planning and expand the scope of employment opportunities. The total outlay of the plan was Rs. 24,398 crores. The Fourth Five-year Plan was not at all a

success. The targets set were not reached. The prevailing inflationary condition and the war with Pakistan in 1971 on the Bangla Desh issue upset the whole thing.

The Fifth Five-year Plan (1974-1979)

The main objective of the Fifth Five-year Plan was to eradicate poverty and increase the scope of employment opportunities.

2. GANDHI, PATEL AND NEHRU

MAHATMA GANDHI (1869-1948)

Early Life

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, acclaimed 'the most remarkable man of the century', was born on 2nd October, 1869, at Porbandar, in Kathiawar State. His father held office as Diwan under the rulers of Porbandar and Rajkot. Gandhiji went to the Alfred High School at Rajkot. He was married to Kasturbai at the tender age of 13 when he was still a high school boy. He left for England at the age of 19 to qualify as a barrister. The deeply religious nature and saintliness of his mother left a lasting impression on his mind. It was during the impressionable period of his life as a student in England that his idealism began to flower. His reading of the Gita, the Bible and the Koran and the works of Tolstoy and Ruskin shaped his life and thought. He did nothing outstanding in England as he was tongue-tied and timid.

Gandhiji's work in South Africa

Returning home, Gandhiji realised that his life in India as a barrister was a failure. So, he seized the opportunity afforded by a business firm of Moslems to send him to South Africa as their solicitor. He landed in Africa in May, 1893. He soon found that Indians in South Africa were classified as 'semi-barbarous Asiatics'. They were addressed as 'coolies' whatever might be their status and education. He determined to put an end to this humiliation of his countrymen. This grim resolve turned the shy and timid lawyer into a valiant fighter against colour prejudice and racial discrimination. He spent 21 years of his life fighting the battle for Indian's rights in Africa. His novel weapon of Satyagraha based on truth

and non-violence was forged during this struggle against oppression and tyranny.

Gandhiji's part in the Indian National Movement

Gandhiji returned to India in 1915 and took up the leadership of the Indian National Movement. Under his inspiring leadership, the movement made rapid progress. His weapons of Non-Co-operation, Civil Disobedience and Satyagraha paid rich dividends. During the First World War, Gandhiji lent able support to the British by recruiting Indian soldiers. As the prize for the help rendered, the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms was passed in 1919. But as the reforms fell short of the ideal, Gandhiji started the Non-Co-operation movement. The majority of people boycotted the elections under the new constitution. Popular risings spread throughout the country against foreign rule. The Rowlatt Act of 1919 armed the government with arbitrary powers to deal with political offenders. Gandiji strongly condemned the act and appealed to the people to observe hartal and satyagraha to protest against it. But the Non-violent Non-Co-operation movement took a violent turn. Gandhiji was put under arrest. The situation became explosive in Amritsar. Without warning, bullets were showered on a crowd gathered in an enclosed place in Jalianwalla Bagh. In the Khilafat Movement started in India by the Muslims, Gandhiji made common cause with them.

During the period from 1924-1927, Gandhiji devoted himself to the removel of untouchability, development of Khadi movement and promotion of village industries. As Gandhiji got dissatisfied with the Simon Commission report, which recommended 'Provincial Autonomy', he started the Civil Disobedience movement. Gandhiji began his famous Salt Satyagraha by marching with his followers to Dandi in 1930 to make salt from sea water. He and many other leaders were arrested. The Gandhiji-Irwin Pact was signed in 1931 Gandhiji promised to discontinue the Civil Disobedience movement. Irwin, in his turn, withdrew all repressive measures and released all political prisoners. Though Gandhiji attended the Second Round Table Conference in 1931, nothing was achieved by it.

The Government of India Act 1935 introduced 'Provincial Antonomy'. When the Second World War broke out in 1939, the Congress expressed its unwillingness to fight on the ground that the people were not consulted and it resigned form the ministries of the seven provinces. The Japanese victories in the early stages of the war made the British government send Sir Stafford Cripps to negotiate with Indian leaders. 'The Cripps' Mission offered 'Dominion Status' to India with power to break away from the British Commonwealth. Gandhiji called the offer "a post-dated cheque" on a crashing bank. The Congress adopted the "Quit India" resolution in 1942. Gandhiji and other leaders were arrested. Disturbances and disorders spread throughout the country. The movement lasted for five months.

The British Government under Attlee was eager to surrender power as the burden of holding on to India was too much for war-torn Britain. In India, in the meanwhile, Jinnah and the Muslim League had grown in power. Gandhiji's efforts to win over the Muslim League ended in a failure. When the Muslim League was not called upon to form the interim-government by Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, the Muslim League entered into "Direct Action" in 1946. Hindu-Muslim riots broke out in Calcutta and spread to Bihar and Bombay. Gandhiji went to the riot-torn areas in Calcutta and tried to restore sanity in the maddened world of communal frency. The Muslim League now came out with its demand for Pakistan. While the British were eager to quit, Jinnah said, 'Divide and Quit'. When the prospects of forming Pakistan became bleak, the League once again entered into "Direct Action". Gandhiji went on his famous Noakhali Pilgrimage to preach his doctrine of brotherhood.

Viscount Mountbatten, in the meanwhile, had finalised his plans for independence and India became independent on August 15, 1947. Gandhiji dissociated himself from the turn of political events and tried to lessen the agony by his prayer meetings in Birla House in Delhi. As he was rushing along for the already late meeting, his many-splendoured life was cut short by the bullets of an assassin on January 30, 1948.

Estimate

Mahatma Gandhi is the Father of the Indian Nation. He was the apostle of truth and non-violence. He identified himself fully with the common man in India. He discarded western clothing and took to his loin cloth. This earned for him the caustic comment of Churchill—the half-naked fakir. He lived up to the ideal of "simple living and high thinking". He is the greatest social reformer that the world has ever seen. His fight for the cause of Harijans smashed the citadels of Hindu orthodoxy. He flung open the temples for the entry of the Harijans, eradicated untouchability and removed many other disabilities. With malice towards none and with charity for all, the Mahatma toiled for the good of the common weal with his weapons of truth, reason and peaceful determination. In the words of Albert Einstein: "Generations to come will scarcely believe that such a one as this ever in flesh and blood walked upon this earth".

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL (1875-1950)

Early Life

Sardar Patel was born in a peasant family in 1875. He was a self-taught man like Abraham Lincoln. From his boyhood he was noted for his leadership and stubbornness. He was noted for his organising ability. During school days he was the acknowledged leader of his classmates. He got married at the age of 16. He started his legal career in 1900. He lost his wife in 1908 when he was 33. He never married again. He was of that sterner stuff. He left for London in 1910 for higher studies. He returned to India in 1913. He started his practice as a barrister at Ahmedabad. He had a princely practice at the bar. The formative period in the political life of the Sardar was between 1917 and 1928 during which period he underwent his municipal career, participation in the Non-Co-operation movement, flood relief work, peasants' no-rent campaigns, *etc*. He presided over the 46th session of the Indian National Congress held at Karachi in 1931. He served 7 prison terms before India became independent. The 'Finest hour' in the Sardar's life was the incorporation of the Princely States in the Indian Union.

Integration of Indian States

The Integration of Indian States was the greatest feat of Sardar Patel. In the most crucial period in the history of the country, Patel stood as firm as the rock of Gibraltar and weathered many a storm. He constituted the ministry of States. In the herculean task of integrating Indian States, the Sardar was ably assisted by his lieutenants V P. Menon and C C Desai and Viscount Mountbatten.

The existence of Princely States created a constitutional anomaly. Further the Attlee Declaration of June 3rd created a new problem. The declaration pointed out that with the creation of the two independent states—India and Pakistan—paramountcy of the British Crown would lapse. This inevitably meant that the Princely States would be free to join either India of Pakistan or proclaim their independence. The existence of a number of independent states would have disrupted the Unity of India and the very purpose for which the liberation movement was started in India would have been set at nought. It was Sardar Patel, the Bismarck of India, who prevented the Balkanisation of the country.

On the eve of the transfer of power, there were 565 Princely States ruled by Nawabs, Rajas and Maharajas. These states would have been swept away by the wave of the popular upsurge in India but for the protection extended to them by the British. Though some important states such as Bikaner, Patiala, Gwalior and Baroda had shown their willingness to accede to the Indian Union, there was not the slightest indication from states such as Hyderabad and Kashmir. Time was running short and there was hardly 40 days before the deadline of August 15, 1947. In the interest of the unity of the country, Patel appealed to the princes of the dire need of oining with India. This had the desired effect. Almost all the 552 states within the geographicl limits of India expressed their willingness to accede to India before July 25th. But there was some hesitation on the part of some states such as Hyderabad, Bhopal and Travancore. In the meantime, the Instrument of Accession and a standstill Agreement were made ready to complete the process. Jinnah was already in the field spreading his net wider to get

possible catches within the geographical limits of India. He would have made a short meal of Jodhpur. The timely advice of the ruler of Jaisalmer that he would be soon a fly in Jinnah's web saved him. The Nawab of Bhopal the and the Maharaja of Indore remained stubborn. But the two hard nuts were cracked after much hectic effort.

Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir

The only three states out of the 552 Princely States which did not accede to India before Independence were Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir. Junagadh was within the geographical limits of India. The Nawab of Junagadh was an eccentric and he acceded to Pakistan. The action of the Nawab and the connivance of Jinnah exceeded all norms of decency and fair-play because the nearest point of contact between Junagadh and Pakistan was 300 miles away. When the Khan of Kalat and the Nawab of Bahawalpur expressed their willingness to Patel to accede to India, he duly advised them not to do so because the state of the former was within the geographical limits of Pakistan and the latter a border state which was predominantly populated by Muslims. Junagadh is a sacred place to the Hindus next to Benaras and the majority of the people were Hindus. The people rebelled and later the state acceded to India. Jammu and Kashmir had a predominant Muslim population. But the Maharaja was a Hindu. As the Maharaja was on the horns of a dilemma with regard to the accession question, Pakistan invaded the country. The Maharaja sought the help of India to repel the attack. The Maharaja acceded to India on 26th October 1947. India sent an army to drive out the invaders. Pakistan absorbed one-third of Kashmir (Azad Kashmir). India took up the Kashmir issue to the U. N. O. In spite of the fact that the U. N. arranged for a cease-fire on the first day of 1949, Kashmir still remains the bone of contention between the two. Hyderabad had a large Hindu population but the ruler was a Muslim. The Nizam of Hyderabad was the most uncompromising man. With the help of the Razakars, an organised band of Muslim extremists, under the leadership of Kasim Razvi, he let loose a

reign of terror. He wrought untold misery on the Hindu population. The Nizam turned a deaf ear to all the entreaties of the Indian government to join the union. He even approached the President of the U.S.A. to arbitrate. He also sought the help of the U. N. O. Unnerved by all these activities, Patel stretched his iron hand on Hyderabad. After police action, Hyderabad was brought to her kness. She acceded to India on January 26, 1950.

Merger of smaller states with the adjoining Provinces

The first stage in the great scheme of a united India was thus achieved by making all the Princely States to accede to the Indian Union on Defence, Foreign Affairs and Communications. After the surrender of these three rights, Patel used this as a lever for the next stage of integration. He started his experiment with smaller and weaker states. The small states in Orissa merge with the Orissa province. This was followed by the merger of tiny states in Chattisgarh with the Central Provinces (now Madhya Pradesh). A number of states merged with the Bombay Presidency. Pudukottai and Sandur merged with the Madras Presidency.

Formation of Unions and final merger

Having achieved rather the easy task of making the smaller but weaker states to merge with the adjoining provinces, Patel spread his net wider to catch the more important and powerful states. In order to achieve this end, he adopted a slightly different method. There were 222 states in Kathiawad. Patel asked these states to form a federation and the Union of Saurashtra came into existence. Within less than 18 months after independence, he brought into existence the Unions of Sourashtra, Rajasthan, Vindhya Pradesh, Pepsu (Punjab and East Patiala States Union) Madhya Bharat, Travancore and Cochin and the Himachal Pradesh. The formation of these unions completed the second stage in the integration. The various unions had Rajapramukhs and popularly elected assemblies. At the time of the formation of the unions, the rulers had surrendered their sovereignties in return for privy purses. Though the unions were

allowed to have their own way in internal administration, the stage was set for ultimate merger into Indian provinces by Patel that wily diplomat. Due to administrative and other difficulties, the unions found no other alternative but to merge. So without any pressure being administered from Delhi, the popular assemblies in these provinces came forward for merger. Thus the Pepsu joined East Punjab, Kathiawad and Baroda merged with Bombay, Rajasthan Union became Rajasthan, Gwalior merged with Uttar Pradesh, and Indore with Madhya Pradesh. Travancore-Cochin became Kerala. In the case of some states such as Himachal Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh, Kutch, Bilaspur, Bhopal, Tripura and Manipur, the adminisattion was directly taken over by the Centre.

Estimate

Patel inspired great awe and respect among his countrymen. It is not a tall claim that Mahatma Gandhi's ultimate triumph over the British Raj was due to a great extent to the Sardar's extra-ordinary powers of organisation and unquestioned sense of loyalty. "Vallabhbhai was to Gandhi what John the Baptist was to Christ. Like Jhon, he roused the people to receive the Messiah as the promised deliverer". After achieving such a herculean task, Patel passed away in 1950. He accomplished the almost difficult task of what Asoka and Akbar dreamt of and what the British could have achieved but for political reasons. Patel who is called the "Bismarck of India" prevented the Balkanistan of the country. While the vast maltitude of the people adored Gandhiji and loved Nehru, they trusted the Sardar "the Consolidator of India". The name of Patel will ever remain green in the minds of the people of India as the chief architect of a United India.

NEHRU (1889-1964)

Early Life

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the child of the Indian National upsurge for Independence, was born with a silver spoon in his mouth on 14th November, 1889. His ancestors were scholars of deep erudition. His father, Motilal Nehru, was an astute lawyer

with a princely practice at the bar. Born in luxuries and bred in affluence, Nehru had ample opportunities to widen his vista of knowledge. His father gave him an aristocratic training with the latest western stamp. Nehru was educated at great expense by English tutors at home. He was sent at 16 to Harrow, and then to Cambridge for higher studies. On the whole he spent more than seven years in England. He took his degree on law in 1912. His education made a man of him instead of the slave that English education made of others. The indignities which his countrymen suffered on account of their colour hurt him.

Nehru's part in the National Movement

Coming back to India, which was then passing through the first phase of her struggle for independence, Nehru came under the powerful influence of Mahatma Gandhi. If Motilal Nehru gave life to Nehru's views, the spirit was administered on him by the Mahatma. Nehru drew inspiration and guidance from him. Gandhiji whose word was law unto us spoke of him thus: "He is as pure as crystal; he is truthful beyond suspicion. He is a knight *sans peur et sans reproche* (without fear and without reproach). The nation is safe in his hands".

Having once entered the fray of the national movement, he had no private life of his own. His prison terms stretched over a period from 1921 to 1945. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress first in 1929. It was during this session of the Indian National Congress that it set as its goal *Purna Swaraj* or complete independence and 26th January, 1930 was declared the independence day. In 1946 he became the head of the interim-government. From the time of the attainment of Independence by India on August 15, 1947, he continued to be its Prime Minister till his death on May 27, 1964.

Personality of Nehru

Nehru never stepped into a vacuum. He was a leader of world thought. He had a better vision, a livelier imagination, a keen intellect and greater capacity for work than many of the other great leaders of India. During the freedom struggle, he had become the

S. Jayachandran.

nation's darling—the apple of the eye for the younger generation. He had personal charm, poise and grace. It fell to his lot to blaze a new trail for India in its internal development and in foreign relations consistent with the ideals of non-violence. He faced the thorny problems in the country with manliness, courage and firmness and with a sense of dedication. He headed the nation at the crucial hour in its history. It was his sterling qualities of leadership that helped him to put the ship of the state on an even keel.

Nehru's political philosophy and ideals

Nehru's schooling under Gandhiji had taught him that *Ahimsa* was to be the guiding spirit. The *Pancha Shila* or the five principles of co-existence is a modern interpretation of *Ahimsa* as an ideal in international relationships. The five principles are "mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual co-operation and peaceful co-existence". Nehru was out and out a socialist. He was attracted by Marx and his ideology but he disliked the dogmatism of the Marxists, their intolerance and violence. His Socialism and Communism have all been Indianised in accordance with his own message to the Socialist Conference held at Taizpur—"Communism minus violence". In other words, the communist leopard is good but without its spots.

Nehru as an administrator

Nehru was a seasoned administrator. He was a mine house of information about internal and international affairs. He found easy solutions to the knotty problems in the social, political and economic spheres. When stirring events were on foot, the lightning speed with which he took decisions and tided over the emergencies are beyond the comprehension of mortal ken. The concept of *Pancha Shila* is one of the greatest contributions made by Nehru in the international sphere. He believed that the policy of non-alignment was the only right course open to India as he saw that if she threw in her weight in favour of any one of the power blocs, it would upset the balance of power in world politics. He left no stone unturned to maintain world peace. He was a source of inspiration and

guidance to Afro-Asian nations whenever colonialism and imperialism raised their heads, The efforts taken by Nehru to preserve world peace speak volumes of his broad vision and outlook. By his dynamic personality, he raised the prestige of India in the eyes of the nations of the world. When the Dutch refused to end their colonial rule in Indonesia, India convened an Inter-Asian Conference at Delhi in 1949 to exchange views and ideas about the problems facing the Asian people. It was even glorified as a pan-Asian Conference. It cried a halt to European Colonialism in Asia. India took the case of Indonesia to the U.N.O. It ordered cease-fire in Indonesia. But the deadlock continued. In a series of conferences held by the U.N.O., political pressure was brought on Holland and she granted freedom to Indonesia on December 30, 1949. Nehru was the chief spokesman of self-determination for the African people. Thanks to the voice raised by Nehru, many countries of Africa obtained independence. He raised his finger of protest against the policy of apartheid practised by South Africa and the policy of racialism by Rhodesia.

Nehru as a Writer

"Glimpses of World History", "The Discovery of India"', and his "Autobiography" are matchless and priceless historical records, noted for their authenticity, accuracy and impartiality. The letters to his daughter, Indira Priyadarshini, later published as "Glimpses of World History" are a lovely exposition of the range of Nehru's wide, almost encyclopaedic knowledge and of deep interest in history and reveal his perfect mastery over the most knotty problems of the fragments of history. His creative genius is better reflected in his ***magnum opus***, "The Discovery of India". It is a descriptive sketch in chapter and verse poised on the central theme, the history of the people of India. The details recorded are impartial and unflattering. His autobiography written in flawless style is a priceless record.

Estimate

Undoubtedly Nehru is one of the world's worthies. He was a man of manysided gifts. As a freedom-fighter, administrator and

writer, he influenced the life and thought of the people. He kept India wedded to the ideal of a secular state. By his dynamic personality, he raised the prestige of India in the eyes of the nations of the world. Like Bismarck, Nehru was by nature one whom life consumed but rest killed. His speeches in parliament are classics of prose at once illuminating and inspiring. His efforts to preserve world peace speak volumes of his broad vision and outlook. In conclusion, it would not be too much if we call Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the heir-apparent of Mahatma Gandhi, as the gem of India, the light of Asia and the beacon-light of the world. Churchill who once said: "I have not become the King's first Minister to preside over the liquidation of the British Empire" gave the best tribute to Nehru. The tribute was "here is a man without malice and without fear".

3. INDIA'S ROLE IN WORLD AFFAIRS

India is a peace loving country. She wants to maintain cordial relations with all countries and upholds the principle of non-alignment. It is not neutrality of the Swiss type. It is not time-serving opportunism. It is not to align with either the Commmunist bloc or the Capitalist bloc. But it is a policy of standing by the side of right according to her own views. Nehru, the first Prime Minister of India, felt that non-alignment was the only right course open to India as he saw that if she threw in her weight in favour of any one of the power blocs, it would upset the balance of power in world politics. He left no stone unturned to maintain world peace. He was a source of inspiration and guidance to Afro-Asian nations whenever colonialism and imperialism raised their heads. The efforts taken by Nehru to preserve world peace speak volumes of his broad vision and outlook. By his dynamic personality, he raised the prestige of India in the eyes of the nations of the world.

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Indonesia to the U.N.O. It ordered cease-fire in Indonesia. But the deadlock continued. In a series of conferences held by the U.N.O., political pressure was brought on Holland and she granted freedom to Indonesia on December 30, 1949. Indonesia is rightly called the child of the U.N.O.

When the Korean War broke out in 1950, the U.N. sent an emergency force contributed by 16 countries including India. The Geneva Agreement of 1954 put an end to the fighting in Indo-China. India played a leading role in bringing about the settlement.

The momentous Afro-Asian conference was held at Bandung in 1955 in which India took a leading part. Twenty-nine nations participated in it. It opened with a call by Asian leaders for solidarity among the people of Africa and Asia for peace and economic co-operation. "Live and let live" and "unity indiversity" were the concepts sponsored in the conference. Nehru was a source of inspiration and guidance to freedom-loving people all over the world to fight against imperialism and colonialism.

Consequent of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company by President Nasser of Egypt in 1956, a mojor crisis occured. As Britain and France had shares in the Company, they entered into action. India supported the move of the U.N.O. in restoring order in the trouble spot. No sooner did Congo obtain its independence from Belgium in 1960, than a rising of its own army and breakaway movements appeared. In response to the appeal of the Congolese Government, the U.N. despatched a military force to Congo contributed by 14 countries including India. Soon, order was restored.

India wants to keep friendly relations with neighbouring countries. It was with that end in view that he recognised Communist China in 1949 as the legitimate Government. She strived hard to get representation for Communist China in the U. N. O. The concept of Pancha Shila or the five principles of co-existence is one of the greatest contributions made by India in the international field. It was jointly signed by Chou En-lai and Nehru

The five principles are "mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual co-operation and peaceful co-existence. It is a matter of profound regret that Communist China — one of the signatories — polluted and repudiated the sacred tenets of he concept. When China invaded Tibet in 1959, she occupied 31,000 squre kilometres of Indian territory. China invaded India in 1962 and occupied 36,260 square kilometres of Indian territory in Ladakh and 5,180 square kilometres in the North-East Frontier. In spite of the fact that China had occupied some places in India, India continued her efforts to get representation for Communist China in the U. N. O. It became a reality in 1971 when China got a seat in the U. N. O. In the Indo-Pakistani conflict of 1971 on the Bangla Desh issue, China which is a trusted friend of Pakistan did not interfere.

The Chinese attack of India in 1962 opened the eyes of India and she soon realised that the policy of non - alignment without proper defence would be a mockery. Hitherto, she was mainly depending upon both blocs for military assistance. Afterwards, she began to increase her defence potential. It was as a result of this that she was able to repulse the two attacks of Pakistan one in 1965 and the other in 1971. In 1974 she exploded the atom bomb and in 1975 she launched the first satellite, Aryabhatta. It is to be clearly borne in mind that it is purely for defence purposes that India increased her defence potential and it was again for peaceful purposes that she exploded the atom bomb and launched the statellite.

Nehru was the chief spokesman of self-determination for the African people. Thanks to the voice raised by Nehru, many countries of Africa obtained independence. He raised his finger of protest against the policy of apartheid practised by South Africa and the policy of racialism by Rhodesia. Colonialism is not still dead in Africa. The former German colony of South West Africa (now called Namibia) which was assigned as a mandatory territory to South Africa is still retained by her. It was due to the mobilisa-

tion of world opinion that South Africa was expelled from the General Assembly of the U. N. O. in 1974. India is also a staunch supporter of Arab nationalism. In the fight of the Arab countries against Israel, she sympathises with the legitimate aspirations of the Arab countries.

Right from the partition of India, the relations of India with Pakistan were not cordial. Fighting broke out between the two on the Kashmir issue soon after partition in 1947. Pakistan absorbed one-third of Kashmir (Azad kashmir). In spite of the fact that the U. N. arranged for a cease-fire on the first day of 1949, Kashmir still remains the bone of contention between the two. War again broke out for the second time in 1965. Pakistan bombed Amritsar and Jullundur. But India repulsed the attack. By the Tashkent Declaration signed in 1966 between Lal Bahadur Shastri, the then Prime Minister of India, and Ayub Khan, the President of Pakistan, both countries agreed to settle their disputes by peaceful means. The Tashkent Declaration clearly proves that India loves peace and follows the path of peace. Fighting again broke out for the third time between the two countries in 1971. The people of East Pakistan fought for provincial autonomy under the spirited leader ship of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman. Pakistan ruthlessly crushed the agitation for provincial autonomy. Thousands of refugees poured into India from East Bengal. So India lent able support to the legitimate demands of the people of East Pakistan. Under the spirited leadership of Indira Gandhi, the late Prime Minister of India, Pakistan was defeated. East Pakistan which is today called Bangla Desh became independent thanks to the succour extended to her by India. Indira Gandhi and Bhutto signed the Simla Agreement in 1972 by which both agreed to settle their mutual problems by bilateral decisions. They also agreed to promote friendly relations between the two countries. Whether Pakistan would abide by the agreement, time alone could decide.

Even after India became independent, she remained a self-governing dominion under the British Commonwealth of Nations. Eversince she became a republic in the sense that once for all she

had bid farewell to monarchical form of government, she was not prepared to accept the Queen of England as her Queen. But India still continues to be a member of the Commonwealth of Nations and maintains friendly relations with her. Eversince World War II, the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. have emerged as two great world powers. India maintains close friendly relations with the U.S.S.R. It is for that simple reason that America is pro-Pakistan. India's leanings towards the U.S.S.R. some what strained the relations between the U.S.A. and India. But India still continues to receive economic assistance from America. America extended her support to Pakistan on the Kashmir issue. During the conflict between India and Pakistan in 1971 on the Bangla Desh issue, America justified the stand of Pakistan. The American Seventh Fleet was in a state of confrontation with Russia's fleet in the high seas off India. Thanks to the manoeuvres of the U.S.S.R., she prevented the U.S.A. by making the Asian sub-continent another Vietnam. Without any hesitation, she gave recognition to Bangla Desh. On the eve of the war, India signed a 20-year friendship treaty with Russia. America had already burnt her fingers in the Vietnam enterprise, Her interference in the Vietnam affair was condemned by India many times. Now a new shift has come in the foreign policy of America. In 1972 President Nixon of America visited Peking with a view to establishing friendly relations with China. A joint communique was released after due consultation with the leaders of China. The communique has expressed the hope to improve U.S. -Chinese relations. In the same year, Nixon visited Moscow. He conferred with Soviet leaders and entered into many agreements, including a disarmament pact. It was in the light of the altered outlook that America did not interfere in the Cambodian affair which has now resulted in the overthrow of the pro-American government in Cambodia and the restoration of Prince Norodom Sihanouk to power. America has now written off Vietnam. The American-backed South Vietnam government surrendered to the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam on April 30, 1975. India immediately recognised the PRG regime.

On April 26, 1975 Sikkim became the 22nd state of India. This is a source of irritation to China. She has now come forward with economic assistance in setting up industrial units in Pakistan. India has received large loans from the U. S. A. The U. S. S. R. has helped India to develop industrially. India with her policy of non-alignment with a mild doze of intimacy with the U. S. S. R. without strings expects moral and material support from America, looks forward for fraternal relations to prevail between herself and Pakistan, friendly relations with China and close co-operation with Arab nations. As a bitter fighter of colonialism, she continues to be the leading spokesman of Arab and Asian nationalism. Above all, India is a lover of peace and cherishes in her heart of hearts that peace and amity should prevail in the world.

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MAPS

1. British India in the time of Warren Hastings, 2. British India in the time of Lord Wellesley, 3. India in the time of Lord Hastings, 4. Sikh Wars, 5. Indian Mutiny of 1857, 6. Second and Third Afghan Wars, 7. III Burmese War, 8. British India under Lord Curzon, 9. Partition of India, 10. Re-organisation of Indian States, 11. French and Portuguese settlements in Independent India.